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M E M O I R S

O F

COUNT LALLY.



P R E F A C E.

IF there is any human institution so intrinsically excellent as to require no comparisons to recommend it, it must, certainly, be the method of administering justice, both distributive and vindictive, in England, where no man's life or liberty, good name or fortune, let his lot be ever so low, can be taken from him, but solemnly in the face of the whole world, according to laws made before the fact laid to his charge was committed, and by the unanimous verdict of his equals, and equals, who may be said to be of his own choosing, considering the latitude of exception allowed him ; men, whose very imperfections, as productive of sympathy, are a security for his being tenderly treated, whilst the presence and authority of stated and professed Judges sufficiently secure that free course to legislative indignation, which the public safety indispensably requires.

But, though no comparisons may be requisite to evince this intrinsic excellence of the English judicature, the history of what passes in foreign tribunals may be highly useful to make us attend to it, so as to reconcile us to those government burthens, which, however heavy in themselves, must appear light, when weighed against the blessings secured to us in consequence of them.

Independent, therefore, of the pleasure the public may have in perusing the following Memoirs, as written by, and giving some account of, a man, whose long and distinguished services had gained him the approbation of his Prince, and the esteem and confidence of a great body of his fellow subjects, and, at last, recommended him to a command, which brought on him the eyes of all Europe and Asia, we hope they will prove still more beneficial by throwing some light on the treatment he met with at his trial, condemnation, and execution, from the highest and reputedly most impartial tribunal of a state considered, even by many amongst ourselves, as the best governed of all Europe.

This unfortunate gentleman was the son of a Captain in Lord Dillon's regiment, one of those which went over into France upon the capitulation of Limerick, by a French
Lady

Lady of distinction. As soon as born, he was, according to the custom of the French army, entered a soldier in his father's company; and, continuing under his tutorage till near fifteen, made a great proficiency in all those accomplishments, for which the young Nobility of France, when born with a happy genius, and conducted by proper masters, are generally remarkable. As the son of an Officer of distinguished merit, he could not fail of gaining an early acquaintance with arms, at the same time that his being, by his mother, allied into some of the best families of France gave him a much better opportunity, than most of his Irish fellow soldiers had, of being early initiated in high and polite life. These advantages, added to that of a handsome person, distinguished young Lally so much, that, by the age of nineteen, he saw himself at the head of a company in the Irish Brigade; an honour, which few of the unhappy adventurers in that brave corps have been able to obtain after as many years constant service in the field; but which, however, he seemed to be well intitled to by an unquestionable courage; an excellent understanding; and that martial air, which, even without any extraordinary degree of sense or knowledge, has been often found to have such influence in a Commander.

Howèver well qualified young Lally appeared to be for military command, he was thought equally fitted for civil employment. Accordingly, at an age that most young gentlemen, unless those of the highest birth, would think themselves honoured by a place in some of the inferior departments of the state, he saw himself suddenly promoted to the head of one of the highest. At five and twenty, he was sent by the French Court to negotiate some business at that of Russia, where his dexterity and fidelity gained him the confidence of the French King his master, and his wit and address a recommendation from the Czarina herself; in consequence of which he, on his return to France, began to be considered as one of the most rising characters at the Court of Versailles; a judgement, which was soon after verified by his being promoted to the command of a regiment, in which station he behaved so well in every service, in which the Irish Brigade was employed, particularly at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, where it suffered so much, and at the siege of Bergen-*op-zoom*, as to be justly esteemed one of the best soldiers in all France.

In the year 1745, when the young Pretender invaded, or rather stole into, these kingdoms, Monsieur Lally came over into England, under a pretence of laying claim to some lands,
which

which he affirmed his father had been possessed of in Ireland, and he himself had a legal title to ; but, in reality, to act the part of a spy for the young Pretender ; assist him with his counsels ; and stir up the malecontents in the southern parts of Great Britain, by promises of money and other assistance ; and in these bold attempts he is said to have had some success, till his dangerous practices were discovered and laid open to the Duke of Cumberland, who was not to be amused by such idle pretences ; and, accordingly, gave orders for his being seized. But Lally, who had, it seems, notice of the storm, availed himself so well of some slight knowledge his late Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had of him, that, instead of being imprisoned as a spy, he was only, through the interposition of that generous and humane Prince, ordered to leave the kingdom in four and twenty hours, contrary, it is said, to the Duke of Cumberland's opinion.

Such was Lally's insatiation at this time, that it was with great reluctance he left the kingdom. But he was not long in France, before the young Pretender's affairs began to wear so bad an aspect, that he had reason to thank Providence for having so early extricated him from them, and thereby prevented his running such lengths, as it would

have been impossible for the British government to overlook.

From this time till his being appointed Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief, of the French settlements in the East Indies, we know but little of Count Lally, except that he from day to day confirmed the good opinion so early conceived of him, and rose proportionably in the service; without sacrificing, however, fortune to rank, so that he came, at length, to be considered as one of the wealthiest as well as one of the bravest men in the French army; and, of course, we may presume, the fittest person to command in a country, where the desire of making a speedy fortune has often proved more detrimental, than even ignorance itself, to European affairs.

For Count Lally's history from his embarking for the East Indies to his death, we must refer our readers to the following Pieces, written expressly by himself for that purpose; to which we have added, chiefly from his trial, such others as were thought properest to illustrate his civil and military character. We cannot, however, put an end to this Preface, without observing how odd it was, that, after behaving towards the English with uncommon severity, or rather cruelty, he should be accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with
 them ;

them ; and lose, it is to be presumed, his life, in consequence of it. For, though this charge was not proved against him, it was made a pretence for refusing him Council, so as greatly to disable him from refuting the other charges with which it was, for that purpose, artfully interwoven. Some of our readers, therefore, may be apt to consider the tragical end of Count Lally as a judgement ; and we shall not take upon ourselves to dispute their opinion ; for it must be owned, that many events have been universally acknowledged as such, which did not wear more evident marks of a superior interposition.

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M E M O I R S

O F

COUNT LALLY.



JOURNAL OF HIS EXPEDITION TO THE EAST INDIES.

IN the month of August 1756, Count Lally was appointed to command an expedition to the East Indies, for which the court had destined six millions of livres in money, six battalions, and three men of war, to be joined by what ships the Company could fit out for the same purpose.

The Chevalier de Soupire, Major General, who was to command under him, sailed from Port l'Orient the 30th of December following, with two millions of livres in money, and two battalions.

On the 20th of February of the year 1757, the Count d'Aché set sail from Brest with Count Lally himself, two millions of livres in money, and two battalions; but, on an accident happening one of his vessels in clearing the mouth of the harbour, was obliged to put in again, and detained by contrary winds till the 2d of May. The two remaining millions, and two remaining battalions, were to be immediately sent after him from Port l'Orient.

During this interval, the situation of Canada determines the court to take from Count Lally two millions, two battalions, and two men of war; that is, above one third of the forces it had been originally agreed to give him.

Upon this, the Counts Lally and d'Aché write jointly to court, that they would no longer be answerable for the success of the expedition; and Count d'Aché goes so far as to throw up his commission. But they receive positive orders to put to sea again at all events, with a promise to Count Lally, that in six months the money and forces now withheld should be sent after him; which, however, they never were.

The Count d'Aché, besides about ten weeks, which his returning into harbour
cost

cost him, spends twelve months in the passage. Thus, the first event robs Count Lally of one third of his forces; and the second gives Admiral Stevens, who did not sail from England till three months after the Count d'Aché failed from France, an opportunity of reaching the coast of Coromandel two months before him; whence it may be gathered, that, had the Count d'Aché made the best of his way for the Indies *, as Admiral Stevens did, he would have got there three months, at least, before him; and even five months and a half, had he continued his voyage, as advised by all his officers, on his first leaving the harbour of Brest. Now, two

* To make the best of one's way for a place, is not, to stop to pick up a little merchant ship, not worth 40,000 livres, and lose two months to keep her by lying by every night; it is not, to put into port for six weeks in order to dispose of her cargo, and then load her again; it is not, to lose six weeks in order to avoid the Cape during the Equinox; it is not, to steer the longest course from the Isle of France to Pondichery, in order to avoid the second Equinox; it is not, to alter one's course by night, to get out of sight of the first sail descried in the day time; it is not, to take in all one's sails, at the appearance of every gust of wind, in passing the line, since it is only by the help of those gusts the line can be passed. All this, however, has been done. In a word, to make the best of one's way for a place, is to endeavour to reach it by the shortest course, and with the greatest speed; and this is what has not been done.

months, nay one month, gained by the Count d'Aché on Admiral Stevens, would have enabled the former to prevent the junction of the latter with Admiral Pococke, and even rendered him master of the Indian seas. It would have rendered Count Lally master of Fort St. David, Madras, and the whole coast of Coromandel; in a word, it would have been sufficient to enable the French to drive the English out of Bengal, where they had not eight hundred regular troops. There is not a man, who knows any thing of the Indies, bold enough to doubt it.

. The Chevalier de Soupire debarked at Pondichery eight months before Count Lally, and, of course, had a shorter passage by four months. At his landing, the English could not bring one hundred men into the field, and the Chevalier de Soupire had two thousand. Madras was still open, as in the time of Monsieur de Bourdonnais; Fort St. David was in ruins, and garrisoned by sixty invalids; it was the work of three weeks, at most, to carry these two places. But the Chevalier de Soupire, an utter stranger to the method of making war in that country, suffered himself to be governed by Monsieur de Leyrit, governor of Pondichery for the Company, who kept him all that time inactive, and thereby wasted the money, which the
Cheva-

Chevalier had brought with him from Europe.

Six months before the Chevalier's arrival in the Indies, the English had driven the Company out of all their possessions in Bengal, the most valuable they had in all the Indies; and that through the supineness of this same Monsieur de Leyrit, and in spite of the reiterated and most pressing solicitations of the council of Chandernagor for a reinforcement of three hundred men, which would have been sufficient to save these possessions.

On the 28th of April 1758, the Count d'Aché sent on shore at Pondichery Count Lally, some of the Count's principal officers, and some chests of money. The day following, as he was preparing to come to an anchor in the road of that place, he was surpris'd by the English squadron four leagues to the windward of it. He was worsted in the engagement, and in his retreat lost a ship of seventy-four guns, to the leeward of Pondichery.

Count Lally, within three hours after his landing, invested Cudaloor, a place five leagues from Pondichery, with 800 men, and was master of it the third day. It must be allowed, that this service might

have been performed before by the Chevalier de Soupire, with 8000 men. The garrison then consisted of but ten invalids. This place, in the hands of the French, would have awed Fort St. David, and have prevented the reparation of its fortifications, as well as the construction of two exterior works built of stone, which greatly retarded Count Lally's operations against it

Immediately after this, Count Lally laid siege to Fort St. David, and on the 2d of June entered the place, after seventeen days open trenches. He then directly turned his arms against Devi-cottah, a fort capable of making a vigorous defence; notwithstanding which, the enemy abandoned it at his approach, leaving seventy pieces of cannon behind them. On the 10th of June, Count Lally returned to Pondichery.

The Count d'Aché, who, during the siege of Fort St. David, was continually sending word to Count Lally, that he was afraid of the English squadron's coming every moment to attack him under the cannon of Pondichery, at last thought proper to change his position, and get sixty leagues to the windward of that place, nearer to the line; and that the very day Fort St. David surrendered,

Upon

Upon this, Count Lally, who was for attacking Madras, assembles the council of Pondichery; and the council dispatch a vessel after the Count d'Aché with a summons to return. The Count d'Aché returns; but declares it impossible for him to face the enemy, and favour the march of Count Lally.

Monfieur de Leyrit then signifies to Count Lally, that he would not take upon him to fubfift the troops above fifteen days longer; and that he could not think of any resource but that of marching them into Tanjore, fifty leagues from Pondichery to the south, in order to claim a debt due by the Rajah of that country; upon which it is to be observed, that it was scarce fix weeks, fince the Count d'Aché had brought Monfieur de Leyrit two millions, and that Count Lally's conquests had produced him one million, of which fix hundred thousand livres accrued from the taking of Fort St. David.

As Count Lally could not pretend to attack Madras, protected by a squadron, without the assistance of another squadron to oppose to it, and Pondichery could no longer fubfift his troops, he found himself under a necessity, at the instances of Monfieur de Leyrit and Father Lavour, to go and

look for subsistence in Tanjore, till the approach of the stormy season should oblige the two squadrons to take shelter in some distant port.

The Rajah of Tanjore having denied the debt claimed by Monsieur de Leyrit, Count Lally, by the advice of a council of war, marched up to his capital; and, in hopes of intimidating him, planted five pieces of cannon against it.

Six days after the erection of this battery, the army receives an account, that the Count d'Aché had been again attacked by the English squadron, and again worsted by it, before Karical; that he had thereupon retired to Pondichery, thirty leagues from Karical, the only place by which Count Lally could communicate with Pondichery, and which the enemy kept blocked up.

The Chevalier de Soupire and Monsieur de Leyrit write at the same time to Count Lally, that the English were in march with a body of eight hundred men against Pondichery; and that the Chevalier de Soupire, who had but six hundred, was preparing to abandon the environs to them. Upon this, Count Lally having called a council of war on the 8th of August, it was therein decided, that
the

the French should evacuate Tanjore on the 10th, in order to protect their own settlements; and, in consequence of this resolution, the heavy baggage, and the sick and wounded, were sent off under a detachment on the 9th.

The main body of the army was to have begun its march the evening of the day following. But in the morning the Indians made a sally, which was repulsed by fifty men of the regiment of Lorrain posted before the gate at which the Indians issued. We had a soldier wounded in this affair, whereas the enemy lost between one hundred and one hundred and fifty men. In the mean time fifty Black horse, commanded by a general of cavalry, penetrated to the tent of Count Lally, which stood by itself in the middle of the plain, and about a quarter of a league from the army, on pretence of coming over to him. Count Lally, hearing of their approach, starts out of bed, and comes to receive them in his shirt and drawers; but the Black general, instead of making his submission to the Count, made a stroke at him with his sabre; and, the Count having been fortunate enough to ward it off with a stick, was going to give a second, when some lucky hand cleaved his head in two. Of the fifty horse, that followed him, eight and twenty fell at the feet of Count Lally, and the rest threw

threw themselves into a pond that lay before his tent. We had but one huffar wounded, and one Black belonging to the stables killed, in this affair, which was over in about half an hour. In the evening, the army set out, pursuant to the orders given the day before, and evacuated Tanjore, after raising 440,000 livres in it in money, besides subsisting two months at the expence of the inhabitants.

Count Lally, at whose approach to Pondichery the English thought proper to retreat towards Madras, on his arrival there makes new instances to the Count d'Aché not to abandon the coast; and, to induce him to stay, offers half the army to recruit his squadron. But the Count d'Aché, deaf to all his prayers and arguments, sails for the Madagascar Islands on the 1st of September, the very next day after the Count's arrival, without giving him time to get ready his dispatches for court. The council of Pondichery protest against his departure. Thus it appears, that, in this voyage the Count d'Aché did not remain above four months in the Indian seas. The English squadron, left mistrefs of them, after cruising two and twenty days before Pondichery, sailed for Bombay on the coast of Malabar.

During this interval of five and twenty days which Count Lally spent at Pondichery, he

he found means to carry on a private correspondence with the commanding officer of twelve hundred Blacks, who garrisoned Arcot; and, the very day the English squadron quitted the coast, moved towards that place, which, after making himself master of four forts that lay in his way, two of them by storm, he took possession of in the name of Salabetzingue, reserving the revenues of it to the Company.

Count Lally had sent for Messieurs de Buffly and Moracin with the troops under them, one in the Decan, the other at Masuli-patnam; and communicated to them his design upon Madras. But these gentlemen agreed amongst themselves to bring along with them but the third of their forces; and even on their arrival, applied to him for a reinforcement of one thousand men, with orders to return to those they had left behind them; with a view, no doubt, of making war, on their own account, upon the purses of the Black Princes in their neighbourhood.

Count Lally, who knew no enemies the Company had in India but the English, refused to comply with such unseasonable demands; and, from that day forward, these gentlemen, far from assisting him, let slip no opportunity of traversing his operations; and had but too good success.

Count

Count Lally, on the first news of the English having made a descent in the province adjoining that of Masuli-patnam, orders Monsieur Moracin to return to it. Monsieur Moracin refuses ; sends him word that he is dissatisfied with the Company, and is determined to quit their service. Count Lally complains of his disobedience to Monsieur de Leyrit and the council, directing them, at the same time, to order Monsieur Moracin back to his command, and protesting that he would hold him answerable for the consequences, in case he did not return. But Monsieur Moracin persisted in his refusal. Six weeks after this, Monsieur de Conflans was defeated ; and five months after his defeat Masuli-patnam was surprised.

Count Lally, after a stay of five days at Arcot, and constantly refusing the incredible offers made him by Monsieur de Buffly ; in a word, 460,000 livres payable in three hours, to be sent back with a body of troops into the Decan, returns to Pondichery. Monsieur de Buffly, on his side, finding that he could not derive from the sacrificing of this sum any present increase to his fortune in the Indies (for with this body of troops he could have raised four, five, nay, perhaps, ten millions of livres) thought proper to employ it in securing to himself protectors in Europe. He lends

lends one hundred thousand crowns of it to the Count d'Estaing, on his estate, at three per cent. He then lends, and even gives away, more of it to some officers returning to Europe. Some of the principal of these officers refused his offers; in particular, the Chevalier de Crillon, to whom he offered two thousand Louis d'ors, telling him, that he did not know what to do with them. All this while the army was without pay, though this same Monsieur de Buffy had, on his arrival, given Count Lally to understand, that he was come with 240,000 livres for the service of the Company; provided he, Count Lally, would be his security for the money, as he did not chuse to have any dealings at all with that Body.

Count Lally, on his return to Pondichery, calls a mixed council; and moves, that the forces should avail themselves of the absence of the English squadron to attack Madras. Monsieur de Leyrit is the only person to oppose this motion, alledging, that he had not wherewith to pay, or even subsist, the army. For this very reason, the rest of the members approve it; and four or five of them, with the Count d'Estaing at their head, offers to contribute 80,000 livres in plate, towards the attempt. Monsieur de Buffy, who,

fix

six days before, did not know what to do with 100,000 crowns, offers not a single farthing, whilst Count Lally furnishes 144,000 livres, which, five months before, on his landing at Pondichery, he had lodged in the Treafury.

The council of Pondichery deprive Monsieur de Leyrit of the receivership of the Company's land rents; and the farmers substituted to him engage to advance, in the course of three months, 500,000 rupees to pay the army. But they did not make good their engagements.

Thus, Count Lally had no other resource, but the weak one abovementioned, for putting in motion an army then consisting of 2700 foot, 300 horse, and about 5000 Blacks; the monthly expence of which amounted to a million of livres. It should, besides, be remembered, that credit is a thing unknown in the Indies; and that nothing is more common than for the Blacks to pass, without any ceremony, from an army where they are not paid, to another where they expect better treatment.

Count Lally arrives in the plain of Madras on the 12th of December 1758; and, after some skirmishes with the enemy, pitches
his

his camp, and sits down before it, on the 13th.

The 14th before day break, he orders the Black Town to be attacked by the Chevalier de Crillon, at the head of his regiment, who carries it with little loss. Count Lally, who, in the mean time, was in march to support him, takes post in this Black Town at seven in the morning.

About nine, between eight and nine hundred picked men of the garrison make a sally, and attack the post occupied by the regiment of Lorraine, but are repulsed and routed; and, if Monsieur de Buffly had not hindered the Chevalier de Crillon from taking possession, with the regiment of Lally, of a little bridge, by which alone the enemy could get back to the place, it must have surrendered in eight days. The plunder of the Black City, which contained eighty thousand inhabitants, was by the enemy themselves made to amount to between five and six millions; and did not a little contribute to retard the operations of the siege.

By the time the French arrived before Madras, the military chest was reduced to 4000 livres, and the farmers of the Company's land rents had failed in their engagements.

ments. An Armenian offers to lend the chest 24,000 livres, and Count Lally becomes personally bound for it.

Monfieur de Buffy had in his retinue ministers from all the Black Lords in the country about Madras. Count Lally will not take upon him to guess the use he made of them. Monfieur de Buffy having acquainted Count Lally, that one of these Black Lords offered for a safeguard 18,000 livres, 12,000 for Count Lally, and 6,000 for himself, Count Lally thought proper to agree to it, requesting Monfieur de Buffy to pay the whole to the Treasurer. But Monfieur de Buffy contented himself with paying the 12,000 livres intended for Count Lally, and thought proper to keep the remainder.

Count Lally has since discovered, that this Black Lord had sent 24,000 livres to Monfieur de Buffy. Monfieur de Buffy must have considered perquisites of this kind as very lawful, since he made no scruple of giving it under his hand.

Some days after, Monfieur de Buffy sent Count Lally eleven Pancartes in the Persian language to sign, with a letter to acquaint him, that the object of them was to procure provisions for the army. Count Lally, who,
at

at Monsieur de Buffy's request, had already put his hand to a great number of these Pancartes, seeing that he never received any answer to them, and that there did not arrive a grain of rice the more at the army, had the curiosity to get two of them translated; when he found them to be no other than exemptions from the tribute, which the Black Lords they were to be sent to owed the Master of Arcot. Count Lally, one may suppose, did not sign them; but then he refused returning them to Monsieur de Buffy.

It was, therefore, with a fund not exceeding 40,000 livres that Count Lally formed a park of artillery, erected a forge, and the day but one after, the 16th, a battery of cannon and mortars; with which, however, all he could propose was to ruin the place, and then return to Arcot.

Commodore de Leguille was by this time arrived at the Island of Mauritius, with four men of war and three millions of livres destined for Pondichery; but, just as he was about to leave that island, the Count d'Aché unfortunately arrived there, and hindered him from proceeding.

The Count d'Aché could not but know, that the English squadron, which had kept the sea for four years, must stand greatly in need of rest and repairs. He had himself, at his leaving the coast of Coromandel, written to Count Lally, that he had disabled this squadron from doing any thing during the whole season; and, indeed, had he thought otherwise, it would have been highly criminal in him to abandon Pondichery. He must, therefore, be sensible, that Monsieur de Leguille, with his four ships, might command the whole coast of Coromandel, during six months at least, till the change of the monsoon. In fact, Monsieur de Leguille might have hindered Madras from being daily victualled; might have hindered six ships of the English Company from landing six hundred men at Madras; might have attacked Madras jointly with Count Lally. In a word, Madras might have been taken; and three months still gained upon the English squadron, to recover what had been lost in Bengal.

Where is the necessity of looking out for any other causes of the loss of Pondichery, and the whole Indies? Why oppose to facts a confused heap of lies, thrown out at random by witnesses combined against Count Lally,

Lally, concerning his manner, good or bad, of attacking Madras? Nay, what would he have done with Madras, had he taken it, as he had no squadron to keep it, or even secure him time to demolish it? Could he have hindered the English squadron from appearing two months after on the coast, and five months before the Count d'Aché? Could he have hindered this squadron from beating that of Count d'Aché, on its first appearance; and forcing it, in less than four and twenty hours, to fly the Indian seas, and return to the Madagascar Islands? To say he could, would be raising the standard of imposition, and saying in plain terms; "We love falsehood; truth is odious to us."

The Count d'Aché, besides detaining Monsieur de Leguille, took upon him to send to Pondichery but a million of his money, and that by a little frigate, which came to anchor before that place the 21st of December 1758. Consequently, Monsieur de Leguille might have reached Madras before the siege of it was begun. Ought not Count Lally be dispensed from alledging any more particulars in his defence?

On the arrival of this million of livres, Count Lally resolves to besiege Madras in

form; pays the European and Black troops half a month's pay, that remained due to them for the month of November; and opens the trenches the 6th of January 1759.

Count Lally attacked Madras with 2700 Europeans. As to the Blacks, they go for nothing at sieges in the Indies. Besides, the English had 5000 Blacks, headed by 200 Europeans, who were masters of the open country, and sufficient to keep in play the Blacks under Count Lally.

Madras was garrisoned by 5000 men, of which 1600 were regular troops; 400 servants of the Company, or inhabitants and invalids fit for service; and 3000 sepoy, allowed, behind a wall, equal to Europeans. Madras in Europe would pass for a second-rate fortification. It had, besides, a free communication with the sea, and was kept constantly supplied with provisions by the Dutch.

The English army, which still kept the field, made four attempts to raise the siege, but was as often repulsed with loss; and after the last repulse never appeared again.

In spite of the unskilfulness of Monsieur Dure, who commanded the artillery without knowing any thing of the matter, Count Lally found means to make a breach; and then, in spite of the intrigues of this same Monsieur Dure, supported by some of the principal officers, to disgust and dishearten the foldiers, made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place, when six English vessels, with refreshments and six hundred men of Draper's regiment, came to an anchor in the road of it, and determined Count Lally to march back to Arcot with an army, that had received no pay for six weeks; had but four days provision left; had but ten tuns of powder itself; and had left the garrison of Pondichery but fifteen to defend themselves with.

The arrears for the month of November, the present pay for December, with the extraordinary expences attending the siege, had, as one may easily guess, exhausted more than the million lately arrived from the Madagascar Islands. The officers had nothing left for their subsistence but the common allowance of rice and meat; and this, too, they were obliged to share with the foldiers. The European cavalry threatened openly, in case they were not paid, to go over to the enemy, so that

Count Lally, in his return to Arcot, found himself obliged to make a collection, at a minute's warning, of 1500 rupees, or 3600 livres, to appease them.

Count Lally, on his arrival at Arcot, gives Monsieur de Leyrit, and the council of Pondichery, an account of the great extremities, to which his army was reduced. They, in answer, after deliberating upon his letter, acquaint him, that they are truly sensible of the wretchedness of his situation; that he must not, however, depend upon any kind of assistance from them; but must find subsistence sword in hand, in the country he had conquered, the lands of the Company being entirely exhausted.

Count Lally puts his army into quarters of cantonment; and, certainly, after a march of one hundred and fifty leagues, three sieges, and eight battles, during an uninterrupted campaign of ten months, it must be allowed to have wanted some repose. This done, he makes over the command of it to the Chevalier de Soupire, and sets out for Pondichery;

Six weeks after the raising of the siege of Madras, the English, who had been already reinforced by six hundred men, are recruited by six hundred more from Europe.

Upon

Upon this they take the field, and march against the Chevalier de Soupire, who abandons the post of Conjeveram to them, with all the conquests made by Count Lally on the left banks of the Paliar. By this means the dependencies of Arcot, from which alone the army could expect subsistence, are reduced to two paraganas or manors on the right banks.

The English squadron was likewise arrived, though not a word could be heard of that of the Count d'Aché. After this unfortunate expedition, the Chevalier de Soupire returned to Pondichery, and has not served since.

At this very juncture, Count Lally is seized by a disorder, which made it necessary to keep removing him continually from one part of the country to another, though with little hopes, for five months together, of his getting the better of it. But, in spite of all his pains and all his weakness, he forms a scheme for taking the fort of Thiagar to the south of Pondichery, which was looked upon as impregnable; and is fortunate enough to succeed in the enterprise.

All this time, though he could not pay the soldiers, he contrived to find them subsistence. The officers, obliged to live upon credit, had almost all of them flocked to Pondichery;

and, indeed, it would have been unreasonable to insist on their remaining with their respective corps.

Part of the soldiers having mutinied, and deserted their colours to go over to the enemy, the officers pursue them; and, coming up with them within three leagues of the enemies quarters, have the good fortune to prevail on them to return to their own. The farmers pretended that they were in advance with regard to Monsieur de Leyrit, and refused paying a farthing towards an allowance of half pay to the soldiers, with which they were prevailed upon to be satisfied.

In this extremity, Count Lally, unable to make the gentlemen of the council enter into the necessities of the troops, takes it into his head to profit by the frauds committed by their dobachies, or valets de chambre; and, with this view, imposes a fine of 312,000 livres on three of them, who used to dispose amongst themselves of all the rents of the Company in the receipt of Monsieur de Leyrit; and the poorest of whom was worth above a million of livres in ready money. We may judge of the masters by the men. One of them belonged to Monsieur de Leyrit. This fine, which Count Lally threatened to double in case of delay, is paid into the treasury within
five

five days, and serves to keep the troops within bounds till the arrival of the squadron.

Count d'Aché, at length, after an absence of thirteen months, arrives in sight of Pondichery the 17th of September 1759, after a third battle on his appearing on the coast, and in which he was worsted as usual.

On his coming to anchor in the road, that very same day, the 17th of September, he writes to Count Lally, that he was willing to let him have some money that was on board his squadron, and likewise some men; but that was all; and that, the day following, he should set sail again for the Madagascar Islands, concerned that he could not so much as have an interview with him,

Now this sum, which the Count d'Aché condescended to let Count Lally have, consisted of four hundred and some odd thousand livres in piastres, and about as much more in diamonds, the produce of an English prize, and which, happily, the English bought three months after at invoice price; this sum was in part payment of the two millions stopt by him the year before at the Madagascar Islands; one of which would have then enabled Count Lally to take Madras,

The enemy was then in full march to attack the army, under the walls of Vandiwash, commanded by a Captain of Count Lally's regiment. Messieurs Landevisiau, de Buffy, Dure, and Funel, thought proper to wait the event in a whole skin at Pondichery. Some subaltern officers repaired to the army, with the Intendant at their head, who was made prisoner in the action,

This unexpected message from the Count d'Aché throws the whole colony into the utmost consternation. Count Lally, who was not as yet able to crawl, dispatches on board him all his principal officers, and even the Chaplain of his own regiment, in whose holiness the Count d'Aché placed a singular confidence, to engage him to suspend the execution of so fatal a resolution. But nothing can move him. Monsieur de Leyrit calls a council, and father Lavour draws up in it a very pathetic and forcible letter, which they immediately sign and send to him. In fine, on his refusing to comply with their demand, Monsieur de Leyrit again assembles the council, and with them the whole nation, who sign an unanimous protest against the sudden departure of the Count d'Aché, *rendering him alone answerable for the loss of Pondichery, and threatening to reclaim the King's justice against him.*

The

The Count d'Aché had already set sail; but, the winds and currents having driven him to the northward, the protest overtook him at sea. Upon this, he returned to Pondichery, spent seven days there, and then again set sail for the Madagascar Islands, promising to be back again early the next year. But from that day to the surrender of Pondichery, sixteen months after, they never heard a tittle of him,

But, another very strange, and almost incredible, circumstance in the departure of the Count d'Aché is, that, being informed by Count Lally, whilst he was preparing to put to sea, that the army had just obtained a compleat victory, and requested to suspend his departure for the Madagascar Islands, that he might at least be able to carry the particulars of it there, and from thence forward them to Europe, he scarce condescended to return Count Lally his compliments, but went on with his preparations, and put to sea, without expressing the least curiosity concerning an event, which, were it not for this sudden desertion of the squadron, would have made all the Princes of the country declare in our favour. It looks, in a word, as if, during Count Lally's stay in the Indies, he, the Count d'Aché, and
 Monsieur

Monfieur de Leyrit, ferved three different mafters. Unhappily, Count Lally could do nothing without the two others; he could do nothing without money to pay his troops, and fhips to favour their operations.

Upon this the council of Pondichery difpatch one of the Company's under merchants into Europe to inform the Governors, that, without fpeedy fuccours, Pondichery muft fall into the hands of the Englifh. And here it is to be remembered, that, a month before Count Lally's arrival in the Indies, this fame council had written to thefe Governors, that, let them fend what veffels or troops they would, it would be all to no purpofe, unlefs they fent with them ten millions of livres, at leaft, in fpecie. The fquadron they fent came, notwithstanding, without this fum, and afterwards abandoned the Indies. Yet now people are furprifed, that Count Lally, without money or fhips, fhould not be able, alone, to defend that place, but for the fpace of three years. This expectation is furely unjuft to the laft degree.

The Count d'Aché had brought Count Lally difpatches from the Court and the Company, enjoining him to examine the
adminiftration

administration of the council of Pondichery; and, above all things, to put a stop to the bad use the Governors made of their authority. These injunctions to Count Lally were accompanied by the severest reprimands and threats, on the part of the Company, against the council itself.

From the day these reprimands and threats reached the council, which hitherto had lived in the greatest harmony with Count Lally, and had been constantly making representations and exhibiting complaints to him against the administration of Monsieur de Leyrit, they abandoned Count Lally to join Monsieur de Leyrit, and made a common cause with the latter against the former.

The Court had just recalled all the principal officers of the army. Monsieur de Buffly was named to the supreme command, in case of the death or sickness of Count Lally. This is a circumstance we must not lose sight of.

Count Lally, who at this juncture was recovering his strength, daily expected the arrival of Bassaletzingue, brother of Salabetzingue, sovereign of all the country, with a body of 12,000 men. This Prince

was already come one hundred leagues to join the Count, and was within five and thirty leagues of his army, when he required of the Count to send an officer of distinction with a detachment of Europeans to meet him, and facilitate their junction. Count Lally chose Monsieur de Buffy for this purpose.

Monsieur de Buffy, instead of remaining, according to orders, but four and twenty hours, at the army, where he was to call for his detachment, does not leave it till the fifth day. He again stops eight days at another place but ten leagues from the army. At length, he joins Bassaletzingue; but, by a fatality which Count Lally cannot as yet account for, returns without that Prince, the junction of whom, or even a diversion made by him, would have obliged the enemy to fall back upon Madras. Instead of him, Monsieur de Buffy brings Count Lally a Black Chief, who had been formerly his Secretary, at the head of 1800 Blacks, who had served under him in the Decan, and now demanded with menaces a sum of about two millions of livres, which Monsieur de Buffy insisted was justly due to them; at the same time, requesting Count Lally, though he knew he could not command two thousand sals, to let them have

have one million on account, and engage the Company for the other.

The day but one after Monsieur de Buffy's departure from the army to go and meet Bassaletzingue, all the soldiers of that army take to their arms, desert their colours, seize on the field artillery, chuse themselves commanders from amongst their serjeants, and go and encamp a league from their old quarters on the road to the enemy.

Monsieur de Leyrit owed the soldiers ten months half pay; and some persons had found means to instill into them, that Count Lally had, five days before, received their pay from the Count d'Aché; that he was freighting a vessel to carry with him into Europe the money and the diamonds which the Count d'Aché had put into his hands; and that he would be replaced by a Monsieur de Godeheu, who would pay the score due to them with a wet finger. It is well known, with what rapidity reports of this kind generally take with soldiers. At the same time, there was dispersed amongst them an account of the produce of the taxes and fines, which Count Lally had levied on the European and Black inhabitants of Pondichery. In a word, the soldiers were made as well acquainted with the amount of the revenues of the colony as
the

the council of Pondichery themselves could wish to be; and signified it to Count Lally, threatening him at the same time with the most terrible consequences, if he did not do them immediate justice.

But it was Monsieur de Leyrit, who had received the money brought by the Count d'Aché, which they were now converting at the mint into the currency of the country. The same Monsieur de Leyrit had still in his hands the box of diamonds brought by the same commander. He knew, that Count Lally, then at death's door, had no thoughts of freighting a vessel to carry him to Europe. All Count Lally can add is, that Monsieur de Leyrit and the council having promised him, on the receipt of this strange piece of news, to write to the army to undeceive the foldiers neglected it notwithstanding; that they did not contribute a single penny to the collection made by Count Lally in the town of Pondichery, to appease the foldiers till their pay could be got ready at the mint, whereas he contributed all the money he had left, amounting to 50,000 livres; that these foldiers, after receiving two thirds of what was due to them, and allowing twenty days for the payment of the remainder, did not consent, after five days

days of negotiation, to return to their colours, but on condition of receiving an amnesty from the council, which this council was not ashamed nor afraid to grant them. We shall not here enter into Monsieur de Buffy's conduct, who, instead of marching directly to join Bassaletzingue, thought proper to wait and see the issue of this mutiny before he set out. The whole Indies know what happened ten years before, when Monsieur d'Auteuil commanded there, and all his officers deserted him in sight of the enemy. The fact, in itself, deserves the most serious attention.

If all these intrigues; if all the enormities which followed them, and which shall be developed in a summary way; if an attempt upon the life of Count Lally, and that of the Intendant of the army, appear mere accidents, and the simple effects of chance; it is to no purpose for Count Lally to say a word more in his defence. But his judges will listen to him, because they are his judges.

Count Lally, in expectation of Bassaletzingue's arrival, had assembled his army under Arcot; and had detached from it the battalion of the Indies, which already began to foment a second revolt on account of the de-

lay made in paying the third still due to the foldiers, for want of a purchaser for the diamonds. But, as there did not remain a single horseman in the army, and Monsieur de Buffy's absence, which should have been but eight or ten days at most, turned out two and forty; the English, taking advantage of the impossibility Count Lally was under of taking the field without a body of horse, made themselves masters of Vandiwash, without its being in his power to give the garrison any assistance.

As soon as Count Lally heard that Bassa-letzingue was not coming, he made what haste he could, in concert with Monsieur de Leyrit, to conclude a treaty with a Moratto Chief for a body of 2000 horse; and with this body, joined by another of 1800 Blacks belonging to Monsieur de Buffy, and which went by the name of Buffy's army, he resolved to keep the field, and encamped opposite to the English, from which nothing separated him but the sandy bed of the Paliar, then without water.

Count Lally and Monsieur de Buffy were in Arcot, and lodged in the same house. Father Lavour had placed a Jesuit, called Saint-Estevan, with Monsieur de Buffy, in quality of his secretary; and Monsieur de
Buffy

Buffy made this Father sleep in the same room with him.

This wretch forms a scheme for making the army mutiny a second time against Count Lally. At the end of eight days, he quits Monsieur de Buffy's apartment to take up his quarters in the center of the regiment of Lorraine, which lay encamped a quarter of a league from Arcot, on pretence of preaching a mission there ; and he, in fact, preaches one. But all his text was the success and riches that would follow the army, did Monsieur de Buffy command it in chief, as he was a man of God, and all in God ; these were his common expressions. He reproached Count Lally with not attacking the English, which Monsieur de Buffy, he added, would have routed long ago, had he commanded them in chief. He piously insinuated to the soldiers, that Count Lally must have an understanding with the English, since he had not as yet attacked them.

Monsieur de Buffy was, at the same time, constantly writing from his apartment to Count Lally, who occupied that immediately over it, that he would not have him by any means risk a battle.

Father Saint-Estevan, finding that his mission was not attended with the sudden conversions he expected, takes into his head to write to the officer who commanded in Arcot, and tells him, that he was loth to inform Count Lally of the discourses he had heard in the army to his prejudice; that the best name the foldiers gave him was that of *Traitor*; that he was even under apprehensions for his life, but that it was not proper he himself (Father Saint-Estevan) should be the person to acquaint him with it; he concluded by advising Count Lally to throw up the command of an army so much indisposed against him.

The Commandant of Arcot sends this letter to Count Lally, whom the officers of the regiment of Lorraine had already made acquainted with the underhand operations of this Monk. Count Lally, however, contents himself with ordering him back immediately to his convent at Pondichery, where he took it for granted he must be already arrived, when, the third day after, part of the army, being, on a march, obliged to take a short cut cross the country, find him alone in conference with Monsieur de Buffy in a pagoda that stood by itself in the middle of the fields. This second fault

Count

Count Lally is likewise pleased to overlook. Yet this Monk, when arrived at Pondichery, endeavours to propagate from the pulpit the morals he found himself unable to introduce in the army, all the while writing to Count Lally, that he could not conceive by what means he had incurred his displeasure, unless by sometimes saying, but merely by way of conversation, that it were to be wished, he had remained at Pondichery, and from thence issued his orders to the army. This confession is rather indiscreet, and might be made a proof, were not Count Lally provided with others in writing.

Count Lally, though in presence of the English, contrives to gain a march upon them, and make himself master of the magazines that lay behind them; and, having by this means disabled them from keeping the field for some days, he falls back suddenly upon Vandiwash; carries the Black Town sword in hand; and charges Monsieur Dure with the attack of the fort, under cover of the army commanded by himself.

Two months before this, the English had contented themselves with firing from behind a muzzle high parapet, without any embrasures upon this fort with three pieces of cannon; and yet made themselves masters of it in six

and thirty hours. Monsieur Dure can make nothing of it in seven days ; and thereby gives the English, twice stronger in Europeans than Count Lally, time to repair their losses, and march to the assistance of the garrison.

Count Lally, obliged to fall back upon Pondichery, or risk a battle, resolves upon the latter. He sets out to meet the English, and attacks them in their march ; but is repulsed and beat, the 22d of January 1760. The loss of men, however, was pretty equal on both sides. Monsieur de Buffy was the only prisoner made by the English. His Black army refused to fight ; and the success of the battle would have been doubtful, if Count Lally's European cavalry had not refused to follow him to the charge of the enemy's left wing, which began to give way. Count Lally contented himself with suspending one of the commanders, and referring the punishment of the other to the council of Pondichery, which broke him.

It is more than probable, that, had the English immediately fallen on Pondichery, they would have carried that place in eight days. There was not a single grain of rice in it. All the letters, intreaties, orders, and menaces, which for two years past Count Lally had been using with Monsieur de Leyrit, had
not

not fucceeds enough to engage him to establish a single magazine there. Nevertheless, this was his principal duty, he being the only person the farmers accounted with for the crops, and incomes of the settlement, the Intendant himself being subordinate to him in these matters.

Count Lally, reduced to the defending, as long as he could, the approaches to Pondichery, encamped with his army at the distance of four leagues from it, in the way by which the English must march to attack it, in order to cover the transportation of grain to it from the south. It was now harvest. In the mean time the English were attacking a little fort seven leagues from Pondichery, where an officer of Count Lally's regiment, who commanded there, stopt them nine days.

The European cavalry, to whom a month's pay was due, encouraged by the remembrance of what had happened three months before at Vandiwash, have recourse to the same expedient to obtain satisfaction. They found to horse; file off by the road leading to the enemy, all to one company commanded by a gentleman called des Gras, whom the Chevalier de la Fare had brought with him from Europe, and who was not a

man to connive at practices of this kind so common in the Indies; for it is to be observed, that it is the Captains who, in that country, have the handling of the troopers pay, and engage at an exorbitant price for the subsistence of their horses, for which, in time of peace, as well as war, they are allowed no less than 100 livres a month per horse. A detachment runs after the deserters; overtakes them at three leagues from the camp; and brings them all back, except seventeen, who, with their arms and horses, go over to the enemy.

A month after this battle, on the 24th of February, Admiral Cornish appears on the coast with four ships of the line from Europe, and on the 28th comes to an anchor in the road of Madras. On the 17th of March he appears with his squadron in the road of Pondichery.

In the mean time, the English army was drawing nearer and nearer to Pondichery Count Lally, to be at hand to protect it against any attempts of the squadron, and at the same time obstruct the march of the army, had successively fallen back from place to place, and now occupied an advantageous post in the way of the English to Pondichery, at two leagues distance from it.

On

On the appearance of Admiral Cornish's squadron, Count Lally, who daily expected Count d'Aché's, according to the promise that commander had given him, on his sailing for the Madagascar Islands the year before, fearing lest the English squadron should, in concert with the English army, make some attempt upon the place, before the arrival of the French squadron, takes it into his head to draw up on the beach, in sight of the former, all the Europeans of the settlement, who were most of them by this time in military uniforms. To those, who were not, and had not wherewith to purchase them, he orders cloth to be distributed for that purpose ; he then proclaims a general review to be made under the walls on the sea side, on the 20th of March, by all the European inhabitants without distinction, the gentlemen of the council, and the clergy, only excepted.

As Count Lally was preparing to repair to the review, in company with Monsieur de Leyrit, he sees two hundred and fifty of the Company's inferior servants, all in arms, enter the court before his apartment in a tumultuous manner, in order to let him know, that it was no part of their duty to pass in review, or go beyond the walls of the place ; that all the military service they were bound to was that of defending the castle, in which the
archives

archives of the Company were kept; that they knew no superior in the Indies but Monsieur de Leyrit; that if he, Count Lally, had a mind to see them, he might come down into the court; that, in a word, they would not obey, and would not repair to the place of rendezvous.

When this happened, there was not a single foldier within the walls. But Count Lally immediately dispatched one of his Aid de Camps for a company of grenadiers belonging to the regiment of Lorraine; and, to gain time, sent Monsieur de Leyrit down into the court, to harangue to the mutineers. Monsieur de Leyrit, who pretends to know nothing of this scheme, which had been concerted the evening before, orders them to obey, and offers to march on foot, at their head, to the place of rendezvous. But all he says signifies nothing. The Lorraine grenadiers arriving in the mean time; Count Lally orders the Company's servants to be disarmed, and sends them all home. The day following, he banishes two of the most seditious to places twelve leagues from Pondichery, and to a place at four leagues distance Monsieur la Selle, a gentleman of the council, who, though the last of that body, had taken upon him to be the mouth of these mutineers.

From

From this time, Pondichery, without men, without money, without ships, and even without provisions, might be given up for lost. Its council had pulled off the mask, and thought of nothing but how to ward off the imputation of mal-administration and want of good will, of which they were afraid Count Lally might accuse them to their masters, by throwing it all upon himself. They spent their whole time in nocturnal assemblies, and in projecting memorials to the Court. Monsieur Courtin, one of the heads of this cabal, glories, in his deposition, that, from the month of May, he never ceased importuning Monsieur de Leyrit to set about a memorial against Count Lally. One Dumont, Monsieur de Leyrit's agent at Nega-patnam, wrote to him to be reconciled to the council, and draw up a joint memorial with them, which he would take care to forward to Europe. In a word, they deliberated in one of these assemblies, whether a scurrilous letter should not be written by the council to Count Lally, to let him know, in express terms, that he might expect *the most fatal* consequences, if he continued to give Monsieur de Leyrit any more uneasiness.

But Monsieur Courtin carries his candour still farther, in his deposition against Count Lally. He therein expressly declares, that
the

the Count placed an entire confidence in him ; that he frequently spent whole days with him ; and that in those moments, in which Count Lally, giving way to the overflowings of his heart, used to conjure him, with tears in his eyes, to assist him, and interest himself in the state of the expiring Pondichery, he used at the same time to make him acquainted with the grounds of his disgust at Monsieur de Leyrit's behaviour ; and he adds in his deposition, *that, as Count Lally had not required secrecy of him, with regard to what he thus confidentially said to him*, he made it his regular practice, on leaving Count Lally's apartment, to wait upon Monsieur de Leyrit, and repeat to him, word by word, what he had heard from Count Lally's mouth ; recommending to him, at the same time, to draw up a memorial against Count Lally. This fact is incontestible. Is it possible for a man to acknowledge himself in clearer and more express terms the greatest scoundrel living ? Yet this Monsieur Courtin was constantly trumpeting himself as the honestest member of the council of Pondichery. He has even dared to say at his confrontation, that he thought a difference should be made between him and his fellow counsellors.

It is true, that Monsieur Moracin, convicted of perjury at his confrontation, to no less than
four

four different facts, did not shew himself a man of severer morals than Monsieur Courtin, when he wrote to Count Lally, that a man might have very little honesty without being a knave.

Is it any way surprizing, that Count Lally, having to deal with men of this kidney, should have met with contradiction and opposition to all the measures he was for taking to prevent, or at least retard, the fall of Pondichery?

While the English army was employed in mastering the little posts, still held by the French, to the north of Pondichery, Admiral Cornish's squadron attacked Karical to the south, which was now defended by the same officer of the Company's, who had given up Chandernagor. Monsieur de Leyrit had obliged Count Lally to take the command of this place from an officer of the King's troops, and give it to this officer of the Company's, in order, he said, to avoid disputes with the counsellor who presided there. But this officer of the Company's did not so much as wait for the enemy's bringing their cannon before it. Immediately on their sending him a few bombs, he delivered up the place; a place wanting for nothing, and the only one fortified in the manner of Europe,

Europe, that the Company had in the Indies. Accordingly, he was broke and degraded by a court martial. The truth is, he deserved death.

After this operation, the English made themselves masters of Valdore. Count Lally, encamped over against them, two leagues from Pondichery, by his good countenance prevented their making any other motion for three months together ; and thereby gained time for introducing into the place about three thousand oxen and sheep, besides a sufficient quantity of rice to subsist the garrison for six months. No one could conceive at this time, for it was now April, that the French squadron had totally deserted Pondichery.

While Count Lally was keeping the English at bay, he contrived to conclude a treaty with a Mysorean Chief, by which this Chief bound himself to introduce into Pondichery three thousand oxen, with a proportionable quantity of rice and butter, in consideration of the French ceding to him the fort of Thiagar, adjoining to his territories, which Count Lally had conquered the year before. But the council of Pondichery opposed and traversed this treaty. Monsieur de Leyrit made it his business to send Count Lally anonymous letters, which he said had
been

been sent himself, to inform him that these Myforeans had not one thousand four hundred effective horse. They arrive, however, with all their cavalry in Count Lally's camp, in order to sign the treaty. But the council of Pondichery give them to understand, that the moment Count Lally's back, who was but a passenger, should be turned, they would break the treaty between him and them. Upon this, the Myforeans refuse to conclude the treaty with Count Lally, unless the council of Pondichery give them a promise in writing, that they will abide by the conditions of it, though Count Lally should be recalled.

This was the first instance seen in the Indies of the Blacks of the country refusing to acknowledge a Commander in chief, and treat with him alone. The council of Pondichery meet; and reflecting on the ill consequences, with which this their solemn refusal of the means to retard the loss of Pondichery might be attended to themselves, sign the promise the Myforeans required. But behold the cunning of the men! They at the same time draw up, in secret, a verbal process of the transaction, and protest against their own act. It is this very council, that has sworn to the truth of this affair in a court of justice. Count Lally knew nothing
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at that time of what they were doing; and he is still ignorant of their motives for doing what they have done.

One thing is certain, and that is, that these cabals of the council of Pondichery created so much jealousy in the minds of the Myforeans, that, the very day after the treaty was signed, they deserted Count Lally in the night, and set out for their own country.

Count Lally sends messenger upon messenger after them. They are overtaken at fifteen leagues distance, and, after a negotiation of twenty days, prevailed on to return.

These Myforeans, to the number of 2700 horse and foot, set out from Thiagar with between eleven and twelve hundred oxen. On the road, they meet with a detachment of the enemy, through which they are obliged to fight their way. Two thirds of their convoy disappear during the engagement. They arrive at a league of Pondichery with between three and four hundred oxen, which the Intendant and the Clerk named for that purpose by Monsieur de Leyrit bring into the town, with one hundred, or one hundred and fifty crocks of mantegue, or butter of the country.

But

COUNT LALLY.

But how are these tricks and cabals of the council of Pondichery, to be reconciled with what the members of it now depose. They say, that these very Myforeans, who, they allow, they did not chuse should come to Pondichery to save that place, might have saved it, notwithstanding. They say, that these very Myforeans, who, according to themselves, did not amount to 1400 men, when Count Lally was for their coming, came, however, to the number of 4000. They say, that these 4000 men might have beat the enemy, who had in their camp 10,000 to oppose to them. They say, moreover, that 400 Europeans had nothing to fear from 20,000 of these Myforeans. Now the English had 5000 Europeans! There is not a single tittle of what the council has deposed concerning these Myforeans, that is not a most bare-faced lye or absurdity.

The Myforeans never encamped on the glaxis of Pondichery; they never received any supplies of rice from it; they continued in the neighbourhood of it but seven and twenty days. Count Lally marched twice at their head to reconnoitre the enemy; and twice, at the firing of the first musket, they fled, and left him alone with his guards

in the midst of the plain. Count Lally employed them a third time; he sent out with them all his European cavalry; but, instead of marching to the place of their destination, they turned another way with these European cavalry, which never returned, leaving their baggage behind them in the care of their louchards or riding servants who, seven days after, on hearing that their masters were safely arrived with the European cavalry at Gingee, twelve leagues from Pondichery, set out by night, and without Count Lally's knowing any thing of the matter, to join them.

The truth is, the object of the treaty made with these Mysoreans was to victual Pondichery. Troops of this kind do not so much as appear in battle, where there are any Europeans to be dealt with.

The truth is, their Chief did not consent to this treaty, of which he bore the whole expence, (a thing never before known of in the Indies) till Count Lally told him, that he daily expected a formidable squadron to second his operations; but seeing nothing of the squadron, though the monsoon was on the turn, and fearing the resentment of the English, who, in case the French squadron did not arrive, must be speedily masters of the whole

whole country, he recalled his troops, on pretence that he was himself attacked in his own territories. This is what he wrote to Count Lally. It is not, therefore, any ill treatment given by Count Lally to these Myforeans, that made them abandon Pondichery, as deposed by the council of that place. These Myforeans, therefore, did not fulfil the conditions of their treaty by coming to Pondichery with the provisions, with which they had agreed to supply it, since they gave up the fort of Thiagar, (the price stipulated for these provisions) when they retired. What are we to think of the council of Pondichery after all these shifts and turns?

Eight days after the departure of these Myforeans, Count Lally resolved on another bold stroke, which was to attack, in the night between the 2d and 3d of September, the whole English army. And, as the result of all the secret assemblies held by the council of Pondichery, and all the letters issued by these assemblies, were handed about the English camp, under the title of remonstrances, even before they reached Count Lally, he took upon him to make, alone, the disposition for this attack, which he now submits to the judgment of persons well acquainted with the nature of such enterprises. He let the gates be shut at the usual

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hour, and afterwards had them opened for himself only, and repaired to the army. To all the principal officers he gave in writing circumstantial instructions.

The attack was to be made on three sides at the same time, on the firing of two rockets from the roof of the Jesuits church.

The rockets are fired. Count Lally's right carries a little redoubt defended by two cannon, which covered the enemies left.

The center, where Count Lally commanded in person, attacks the center of the enemy, where the English General had an opportunity given him of uniting his whole strength; the battalion of India, which formed Count Lally's left, having, instead of attacking the enemies right, thought proper to fall back, and wheel behind Count Lally's center. By this means the attack miscarries.

And here it is proper to observe, that the troops of the Company never fought in the Indies, but when plunder was to be got by fighting; and they could expect none by fighting Europeans. In these famous campaigns, so thick studded with victories, which Messieurs de Buffly and Moracin caused to be so loudly trumpeted in the Ga-

zettes of Europe, they had none but Blacks to deal with. These campaigns were, at bottom, no better than progresses, in which the Commander sent detachments to the right and left of his rout to levy on the Princes of the country heavy contributions, half of which, and sometimes a farthing, were not brought to the Company's account.

These victories may be estimated by the printed memorial, which Monsieur Courtin published about a year ago. Monsieur Courtin tells us, that with 8 lame Europeans he has had to engage from 200 to 2000 Blacks; and that he, at length, fought his way, by the mountains of Thibet, through 5000 of these Blacks. What wonders, therefore, might not be expected from Messieurs de Buffy and Moracin at the head, the one of 800, the other of 400 healthy able-bodied Europeans. It is true, that Monsieur de Buffy was once defeated by these very Blacks, and lost half his army, and with the other half was obliged to fly before them for the space of eighty leagues. But it is the only instance of the kind remembered in the Indies; and Monsieur de Leyrit more than repaired this loss. It was, indeed, by weakening the settlements in Bengal, and Pondichery.

In the height of all these successes, Monsieur Dupleix, who did not get a penny by them, had to deal with Europeans in the Carnatic, and was every where defeated. He was constantly complaining to the Company of the soldiers, and even of the officers, who but too much resembled their soldiers, sent to him from Europe. And, indeed, these troops were ever backward to shew themselves in the field; and, as often as the enemy came up with them, either fled or laid down their arms. They fled at *Caveripac*; they fled at *Bakour*; they fled twice in *Tanjore*; they laid down their arms at *Valconda*; they surrendered at discretion in the island of *Seringham*; they failed thrice before *Cudaloor*, though but a post; twice before *Arcot*; twice before *Trichenopoly*, at the last siege of which half of them were made prisoners. In a word, in spite of all the reinforcements sent one after another from Europe to Monsieur Dupleix, there was no army in the Indies, when Monsieur de Godeheu landed there with 2000 men; and of these 2000 men there remained but 1000 at Pondichery, at the end of two years, when Count Lally landed there, though there had been no war in the mean time.

But of these prisoners, made five years before, there still remained above 800 in the
English

English prisons, which Count Lally found himself obliged to exchange against the garrisons he had taken in Fort St. David, and before Madras.

This unavoidable exchange deprived him, immediately on his arrival, of the unquestionable superiority he had over the English. He would have had 800 men more, and would have sent to the island of Bourbon, according to his instructions, these 800 English, who would have been, in his hands, a curb upon the English General and Governor, when he found himself under a necessity of asking of them conditions for Pondichery.

It will, perhaps, be objected to Count Lally, that the India Company, in spite of all the losses they suffered in the Indies, still retained Pondichery. To this he simply answers :

The English Ministry, at that time, considered the possessions of the English East India Company as an object foreign to the state. Nay, the generality of the English nation rather wished to see that Company crushed to pieces, in order to make way for a free trade. In the last war, the English Ministry happened to be of a different opinion. They sent successively, to the coast

Coromandel alone, 4000 regular troops, and fourteen ships of the line. Monsieur de Leyrit, twelve months before the arrival of Count Lally, suffered Bengal to be lost, when he might have saved it by an embarkation of 300 men; the English, once masters of this settlement, the only lucrative one, found themselves strong enough to dethrone the sovereign of the country, who offered to the French, and would have granted them, the same advantages, which the English derived from the sovereign they substituted to him. The English, in a word, derived from this revolution seventy-five millions of livres, with which they began by paying all their India debts, employing the remainder in the attack of the French settlements. They did more; they took advantage of their Squadron's wintering at Bombay, to take Surat. The French Company, on the contrary, sent, to support their settlements in the Indies, but four millions in money; 2000 men, and five ships of war; and these, besides, arrived too late.

But to return. The army commanded by Monsieur Dure, a Lieutenant-Colonel, was encamped a league from Pondichery, and half a league before a hedge between six and seven fathoms thick, which surrounded the town for the space of about two leagues
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and a half. This is what was called the bounds of Pondichery. All the settlements granted to the Europeans on the coast of Coromandel are furrounded with hedges of this kind. They served to keep off the Morattoes, and naked cavalry, who, as they are full of brambles and briars, never attempt to cross them. They are, however, here and there, lined with cannon, in order to hinder these Morattoes from ravaging the rice grounds and houses within cannon shot of them. The witnesses against Count Lally have not been ashamed to represent in Europe these bounds, as an intrenchment, like that of Heilbron. The English had bounds of this kind at Cudaloor, Fort St. David, and Madras, less extensive and better kept up than those of Pondichery. Yet they never took it into their heads, with five times the number of men that Count Lally had, to wait his approach behind them. Witnesses must be hard put to, to have recourse to such absurdities, which a single glance at the plan of the place is sufficient to overset.

An officer of the India Company's, who, like several of the inhabitants, went over to the English camp on the 3d of September, rather than starve in the town, returning two hours after with a pass from the English Commander, in order to take away his
cloaths,

cloaths, informed Count Lally, that the enemy threatened to attack Monsieur Dure the next day, and force him to fall back within the bounds of Pondicherry. This was only what Count Lally expected from one moment to the other, the two armies having lain ten days together within half a cannon shot of each other, so as to give occasion to frequent interchanges of musketry, by night as well as by day, between their advanced guards.

Count Lally sends this officer to give Monsieur de Leyrit an account of what he said he had heard in the English camp ; for the event has proved that it was all a fiction. Monsieur de Leyrit, according to this officer's oath, makes answer, that it was no affair of his. Count Lally writes to the council to represent to them the great danger of leaving thus exposed, beyond the bounds, the regiments of Lorraine and Lally. The council, likewise, make answer, that it is no business of theirs.

The troops, by thus lying without the bounds, increased the boundary of the place, and thereby favoured the entrance of some provisions. A retrograde march would have lessened this boundary. Count Lally, aware of the reproaches in store for him, if he had ordered it, thought proper
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to wait the issue. He, therefore, wrote the very same day, the 3d of September, a letter of instructions to Monsieur Dure, to inform him of the steps he should take to avoid a surprize, and to retreat in good order, on the approach of the enemy, within the bounds, which the cannon of the place commanded.

This fine army of Count Lally's consisted of the regiment of Lorraine of 300 men; the regiment of Lally of 200; and 200 Blacks encamped without the bounds. The battalion of the Indies, of 200 men, lay encamped under a fort at the other side of the river, three quarters of a league from the regiments of Lorraine and Lally, in order to favour the introduction of provisions on that side, as being the side worst guarded by the English. Count Lally had, besides, 200 sailors within the bounds, to be at hand, either to cover the retreat of the 500 men of Lorraine and Lally, that lay without them; or throw themselves into the town in case of any attack upon it by the English squadron. Thus, this army amounted, in the whole, to 900 Europeans, and 200 Blacks.

The army of the enemy consisted of 3500 English foot, and 150 English horse; 400 Germans, Swiss, and French deserters, and
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500 marines; in all 4,500 Europeans, and 10,000 Blacks, supported by fourteen vessels of the line in the road of Pondichery. Such is the army which made Monsieur Dure retreat, a little precipitately indeed, within the bounds of Pondichery. This operation, of which so much has been said, cost no blood; we lost not a single man by it.

The evening before this attack, the Governor of Madras had recalled the commander of the English troops, and had given the command of them to a Colonel, who had his leg broke by the first and the only cannon ball fired against the enemy.

From this day, the 10th of September, the place may be said to have been not only invested, but straitened. It is a maxim with military men, that a place is invested even from the day of a superior army's appearing before it. Why, therefore, should Count Lally be refused the merit of having, with a handful of men, and merely by making a good countenance, prevented the investiture of Pondichery for four months together. The plain about it was open; there was not so much as a single bush between him and the English.

The four months of investiture, which preceded the surrender of the place, were spent in constant expectations of succours from Europe, in consequence of two deputations sent to inform the Company of the imminent danger of Pondichery; and in constant expectations of seeing the squadron of the Count d'Aché. All this time, the English made not the least attempt upon the place; whereas Count Lally made two sallies upon them, and in one carried off 84 men, in the other an officer and his whole guard. All the enemy did was to erect three batteries at 600 paces distance from the place, which did not so much as stir a stone from the parapet. In a word, there fell, during the whole of this famous siege, but one man, who was killed by a random shot on the esplanade of Pondichery.

As to the interior of the place, these four months were spent in altercations between Count Lally, the council, and some of the principal officers, who wanted to build their fortunes on the ruins of it.

Count Lally had required of the council to raise a tax upon the White and Black inhabitants without distinction, in proportion to their fortunes. The council thought proper to lay the whole burthen on the Blacks.

Blacks. All the Europeans, monopolists and others, were exempted from it. Count Lally knows not what it produced; but he knows, that the council made a handle of it to spirit up the inhabitants against him. Nevertheless, it was absolutely necessary either to surrender the place, or subsist the officers; or, at least, give them a credit to live upon; it was necessary to pay the Blacks employed in repairing the ruinous parts of the fortification; in fine, it was necessary to pay the European workmen employed in the service of the artillery and other works.

Count Lally imposed two fines on two of the Company's servants; one of whom, appointed keeper of the magazines, by Monsieur de Leyrit, made it a practice to dispose of the grain lodged in them, on his own account; the other, to write to the English General, that he had ever been more attached to the English than to the French; and that it would be matter of rejoicing and thanksgiving to see him arrive, as an amiable conqueror. This man, called Berthelin, was one of Monsieur de Leyrit's favourites, and constantly attended the toilet of a lady very far gone in that gentleman's good graces. These two men were, besides, connected, by blood and interest, with all the

the members of the council, who spirited up the whole town against the rigour of these fines, which brought the treasury about 60,000 livres. Count Lally was reduced to the alternative of surrendering the place, or turning to some account the crimes of these wretches, for whom, in another circumstance, he would have thought hanging too mild a punishment.

Count Lally had ordered a search to be made for grain in all the houses of Pondichery, his own not excepted. This search was made by one of the principal military officers, and one of the Company's servants, attended by two serjeants. It is a customary thing to bury grain in this country, where it is ready money. They took four thousand measures of it from a servant of Monsieur de Leyrit's, who had hid it in his garden, twelve feet under the surface.

The officers and soldiers were reduced to rice and water; the Counsellors of Pondichery, the Partners and Factors of those of Mauritius, and of some Captains of men of war, to whom the shortness of the cruizes made on the coast by the Count d'Aché did not give sufficient time to sell their ventures, kept open wine stores; and were not ashamed to take such advantage of the necessity of the

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the troops, as to make them pay from seven to eight livres a bottle for that article. They even raised it to twelve during the siege of Madras. Yet this wine cost but five sols. Monsieur de Leyrit had four thousand bottles of wine in his cellars, when Pondichery surrendered. Monsieur Boyelleau, the Attorney General, had six thousand belonging to a purser of the squadron. Count Lally had with much ado prevailed on these Counsellors to part with some of this wine, at the rate of seven or eight livres a bottle, to be distributed amongst the officers, half a pint a day to each. The eighth day this distribution ceased. What could Count Lally do in these circumstances? should he have that very day surrendered the place?

The Count d'Aché was daily expected. It was, however, of these searches, these fines, these taxes, which preserved Pondichery for eighteen months, and gave time for succouring it, that the council made a handle for spiriting up against Count Lally all the servants of the Company, some of the inhabitants in easy circumstances, and some of the principal officers connected by interest with those, whose monopolies Monsieur de Leyrit thought proper to favour.

Count

Count Lally suppresses, in this place, a great number of pasquinades against him, stuck up on the doors of the Churches; and the letters thrown into his apartment, in which he was allowed but twenty-four hours to live. He suppresses the insidious steps taken by the council, to obtain his leave for finding out the authors of these scandalous pieces. Where was the necessity of the council's asking leave to do their duty? Count Lally had requested them, a year before, to use their authority, to put an end to the indiscreet discourses held in the place by the Company's servants; and all the satisfaction he could get was, that they had never heard any discourses of the kind. The memorial of Monsieur de Bourdonnais has already made the public sufficiently acquainted with the tricks and underhand dealings of these fugitives, whom the Company used to employ in their India factories; and who, all to a few honest men confounded amongst them, are the very same persons, who now seek to ruin Count Lally, and employ the same means as heretofore to accomplish their Black design.

In fine, on the 24th of December, Count Lally, who had been confined to his bed for twenty days past, seeing, that there remained in the

magazines but four pounds of rice for every officer and soldier, gives notice to the council, that it is high time to think seriously on the conditions to be required of the English commander, in order to have time to discuss them with him. The council's answer is, that it will be time enough to think of them, when the place shall be reduced to the last extremity. Count Lally replies, that it will be then too late. He is, however, obliged to wait for the last extremity.

As an account of what happened between this day, the 24th of December, and the 16th of January following, when the place surrendered, would be but one uninterrupted issue of such misery and wickedness, as Count Lally could scarce expect to gain belief to, were he not provided with proofs of it in writing, has thought proper to give, at the end of this Journal, a summary of all the events that have any relation to the capitulation of Pondichery; and will here confine himself to a short narrative of the excesses committed since its surrender.

The town of Pondichery surrendered the 16th of January 1761, and the inner fort the 17th. The council of Pondichery prevail on the Governor of Madras to send off
Count

Count Lally, though at death's door, the day following. Count Lally requests of the English General to be sent to Cudaloor, where he might be within reach of the French and English physicians and surgeons. The Governor of Madras insists on his going to Madras, and gives him his palanquin for that purpose. He is not permitted to take any thing with him but two trunks and his bed, the council of Pondichery having told the English Governor, that he would find treasures in his chests. They, indeed, contained treasures, but these treasures were his papers, which the council had their eyes upon, and Count Lally was desirous of securing. It was these very papers, which gave rise to the resolution that was taken, and with which he was threatened, to assassinate him, as well as the Intendant, and Monsieur de Gadeville, the Deputy Quarter-master-general of the army. Count Lally had put into the hands of the Intendant all the complaints made to him in writing of the unheard of vexations committed by the officers and Company's servants in the posts where they commanded; he had put into his hands, all the papers of the Marquis de Conflans, containing the necessary instructions for the administration of affairs in Masuli-patnam. The Chevalier de Gadeville was charged with all the papers, containing

the complaints exhibited to Count Lally, by the Blacks of Pondichery, of the vexations and cruelties they had suffered from the officers and servants of the Company. These complaints the poor people used to put, by night, into a kind of letter-box, which Count Lally had ordered to be placed at the gate of the fort, as they no longer dared to come in person to him, since an officer had broke the arm of one of them, as he was leaving the Count's apartment.

This very same 18th of January, an officer in the Company's service, who had been broke and expelled his regiment in Europe for a conspiracy against the Colonel, enters at nine in the morning the court-yard of Count Lally's house, at the head of five and twenty officers or servants of the Company, in order to kill him in his bed; and, meeting one of the Count's Aid de camps on the steps of the street-door, immediately falls upon him. The Commandant of the regiment of Lorraine arrives to his assistance; the alarm spreads through the fort; and the English guard being within sixty paces, the assassins disperse; but, after leaving an officer in the gallery leading to Count Lally's apartment to watch the hour of his departure, rendezvous again in a private house, where Monsieur

fieur de Leyrit and one Defer, the murderer of the Intendant had lodged together for some days. Most of them dine there. Monsieur Moracin takes care, in the letter he writes Monsieur de Buffy to give him an account of what happened at Count Lally's leaving Pondichery, to tell him, that the Count was too narrowly watched to get incognito out of Pondichery ; and, as to the Intendant, that he was born to leave his bones in the Indies. This letter is amongst the pieces reported in this trial.

Monsieur Mathon, superior general of the foreign missions, is still more explicit in regard to the murder of the Intendant, in his letter of the same date to his convent in Paris. *Monsieur Lally*, these are the words of this good priest, *will be sure to say that the Intendant has been assassinated ; nothing more was intended than a little caning, for not a man of them would have dared to attack the Intendant singly, as he passed for the best swordsman in Pondichery ; but he resented the insult offered him, and drew on himself what followed. That is as much as to say ; “ he challenged eighty men, and eighty men killed him.”*

This gang, as soon as they got up from table, assembled again, by five in the evening, at the gate of the fort, to the number of eighty, all of them officers or servants of the Company.

Count Lally, having, in consequence of what had happened in the morning, applied to the English General for an escort, had obtained an officer and fifteen hussars for that purpose. Defer watched his coming out at the very door of his chamber; and, the moment he saw the folds of it open, set out full speed for the gate of the fort to alarm his accomplices.

Count Lally leaves his chamber a quarter after six, when it was almost night. He meets at the door Father Lavour, who had but just come through the gang of assassins that waited for him; and, therefore, wishes the Count a good journey, and, above all things, advises him to take great care of his health.

Count Lally has scarce got out of the gate of the fort, when he sees these eighty assassins advancing towards his palanquin; Monsieur de Moracin alone ten paces before them to the right. Count Lally immediately orders his palanquin to stop, and four of his guards to level their pieces at a dozen of the assassins, who were already within ten paces of him. This motion obliges them to halt, and gives time to the English officer and his fifteen hussars to rush out of the fort to his assistance. Upon this the assassins disperse, and Count Lally proceeds on his journey,

Four minutes after, the Intendant comes out of the fort, when the assassins rally for the third time that day, and fall upon him. Defer dispatches him at one stroke, and lays him dead at the feet of two English centinels.

The next moment, Monsieur Boyelleau, Attorney General, arrives, before the Intendant's body can be carried to his apartment, which lay within eighty paces of the spot where he had been assassinated. But he leaves it where he found it, without instituting any verbal process; repairs directly to the deceased's apartment; ransacks his effects and papers; shuts and seals his doors; and departs without giving any orders for the interment of his body, or taking the slightest information against the assassin, who returned home in triumph, passing through Monsieur de Leyrit's apartment in his way to his own. The Capuchins, parish priests of the place where the affair happened, refuse the Intendant christian burial. At length, his servants, after he had four and twenty hours remained naked on the steps of his own door, and exposed to the insults of the officers and servants of the Company, remove him to a garden, and bury him there. Such is the transaction, which people now affect to consider as an affair of honour, and merely accidental.

If it was no more, why was christian burial refused the Intendant? Such is the affair of honour of an Intendant almost seventy, who could not see in the best day-light without spectacles, against eighty men of honour, who all depose that it was an affair of honour, and depose at the same time, that they were not present at it. The verbal process of the council of Pondichery, their letters to the Minister and the Company, those too of private persons, made him an accomplice in the extortions charged upon Count Lally. Nevertheless, the witnesses against the Count have not so much as mentioned the Intendant's name in their depositions. They should, at least, one would imagine, have contrived some reasons to justify the first insult which they offered the Intendant, and of which his death was the consequence. What a scene of abominations!

But these same honest men, these same men of honour, took care to send immediate notice to their comrades, prisoners at St. Thomas, near Madras, that they had missed Count Lally. Monsieur le Verrier, a member of the council, made no mystery of it in his letters to Monsieur de la Selle, another member of the council, then at Tranquebar. These letters are in the hands of Count Lally's judges.

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The prisoners at St. Thomas, on receiving from Pondichery the news of Count Lally's escape, assemble and resolve to dispatch him on the road. An officer in the Company's service, provoked at this resolution, writes to Count Lally to put him upon his guard. But, being discovered, he is pursued. Fortunately, however, he gets to Madras, and there obtains a safe-guard, with which he takes refuge amongst the Dutch at Sadras.

Even after Count Lally's arrival in the neighbourhood of Madras, the conspirators against him at St. Thomas continue their meetings so publicly, that the council of Madras think it their duty to give him a guard of fifty men, and at the same time forbid the prisoners of St. Thomas to come within half a league of his quarters, on pain of being confined with the common soldiers. It was a near relation of Monsieur de Leyrit's, who headed these conspirators, all men of honour; and he made no scruple of owning it at the table of an English Colonel.

In the mean time, the effects of Count Lally, that remained at Pondichery, are searched and ransacked in the most indecent and scandalous manner, and in presence of a member of the council; but, they being found to consist entirely of his common
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wearing apparel, part of which, however, is embezzled, the two English Generals, disappointed of the treasures and precious effects they were made to expect, treat the two councils as a knot of knaves, and make an apology to Count Lally by one of those very men, who have sworn against him at Paris, and whose letters he has produced, contradicting every thing affirmed by himself upon oath.

Count Lally was treated at Madras in the most unworthy manner by the English Governor and Council. He could scarce venture abroad for fear of being insulted. His effects, on their arrival from Madras, where they had been detained six weeks, were again stopt at the Custom-house for the payment of 30,000 livres lent him by an Armenian to carry on the siege of Madras. He had already remitted this money to Monsieur Chevreau, the treasurer, who, on being confronted with the Count, deposed to the receipt of it, as likewise to that of 1200 livres on another account, which Count Lally did not so much as remember.

At length, Count Lally, though scarce able to leave his bed, is put on board a crazy merchant ship, and at a bad season. He is not permitted to take with him the smallest quantity of provisions, in consequence of which he is reduced to live three months, at the

the discretion of his trading captain, on broths made with fresh and salt pork, till his arrival at St. Helena, the military governor of which omits nothing to make him forget the unworthy treatment of his Indian countrymen.

Count Lally is replaced at Madras by the council of Pondichery, who have thought proper to inform all Europe, in print, of the gratitude, with which they were penetrated for all the civilities of the Governor and Council of Madras. In fact, they were not obliged to part with a single handkerchief at Pondichery; nay, they were permitted to share amongst themselves part of the few effects, that still remained in the Company's magazines.

Count Lally arrives in London, and there hears of the cabal formed against him in France. He applies for leave to return to Paris on his parole, and obtains it. He lays his complaints before the ministry, who promise him speedy justice. The cry of his enemies, and the clamours of the public, whom his enemies spirit up against him, prevail. The ministry think it their duty to yield to them. After twelve months spent in the most earnest solicitations to have his conduct examined in the most rigorous manner, he hears, that he is to be put under arrest

arrest. Upon this he immediately sets out to make a voluntary surrender of himself, fully persuaded, that he would, at least, be permitted to justify his conduct. This, it must be allowed, was not acting like a man, whose conscience reproached him with any crime.

The public, no doubt, will ask : why this universal inveteracy against Count Lally, if there was nothing to charge him with ?

Count Lally answers. In the first place, this inveteracy is not universal. None have been admitted as evidence against him, but those very persons, who have been constantly decrying him in public, and three fourths of whom had been punished by him in the Indies for extortion or neglect of duty. Secondly, Count Lally did not chuse to connive at theft and robbery in the Indies ; he brought home with him proofs against all those who had committed any crimes of the kind in that country ; so that he had against him a multitude of persons combined and resolved to keep, cost what it would, the plunder they had amassed there. Thirdly, he had to deal with Directors, who found themselves under a necessity of justifying, in the eyes of the stockholders, their gross neglect, to supply him with men and other means of defence, one of the things he thought it most incumbent upon him to complain of.

Count

Count Lally passes fifteen months in the most horrible confinement, without so much as knowing the reasons for it. At length, he hears, that Father Lavour, secretary and clerk of the cabal formed against him, is dead; and that there had been found, amongst the papers of that father sealed up after his death, an infamous libel, which had already been handed about Paris, and of which Count Lally had given the minister minutes, which minutes were actually ingrossing at Monsieur de Buffy's.

Count Lally hears, that, on the strength of this libel, the Chatelet have already taken some steps against him; that four witnesses have read to the Lieutenant Criminal a deposition of forty pages in writing, and signed it as a judicial act. This is the first instance of such a method of proceeding.

In a word, he hears, after having, for fifteen months together, reclaimed the parliament as his natural judges, that the King had, by an express commission, constituted them judges of the embezzlements and extortions committed in the Indies, as the causes of the loss of Pondichery.

On examining the four depositions made at the Chatelet, there did not appear the least sign of embezzlement on the part of Count
Lally

Lally. A second commission issues, in which, for the first time, the suspicion of treason is mentioned. This new insult, on the part of Count Lally's enemies, but adds to their calumnies, without increasing his fears of the most scrupulous enquiry. A sixty years faithful and zealous service of his Majesty clear him, beforehand, of such a suspicion. The constancy, with which he presented himself for twelve months together to obtain justice against his calumniators, is an additional proof of his innocence.

It is, however, on this mention of a suspicion of high treason in the second commission, that the rigour, with which he has been since proceeded against, is founded. Deprived of all manner of assistance, he finds himself, at the age of sixty-seven, under a necessity of answering, from his memory, to questions about facts without number, that passed nine years ago, and in places six thousand leagues off. He has been more concise in his answers, and more sparing in summoning persons to appear for him, than he otherwise would have been, in hopes of being allowed council, which, however, it has never been so much as deliberated to grant him.

In spite of all the artifices of his informers, there has not appeared, during the course of his trial; a single witness, that could furnish
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the least matter for a presumption of high treason against him, though they were not afraid to insinuate a suspicion of it. But, enraged at seeing him triumph over this odious imputation of theirs, as well as that of extortion, they have now taken it into their heads to make him culpable in his military capacity. That is, after succeeding so far, as to cause him to be put under arrest for extortion, without being able to prove any extortion against him, and afterwards accusing him of high treason, without daring to swear to any, they are now for bringing into question his conduct as an officer, not considering, that, by the laws, his conduct, as such, does not fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrate.

Every enquiry into the military conduct of an officer, and especially a General, requires a discussion, face to face, between the accuser and the accused. This discussion has not, as yet, been allowed Count Lally, who, by the military laws, has a right to defend himself, and cannot be judged for military transactions but according to military forms. Otherwise, it would be in the power of two officers, whom a General might have had just reason to chastise during the course of a campaign; nay, in the power of a second Lieutenant, a Serjeant or common Soldier, exasperated at the loss, the one of his portman-

teau.

teau, the other of his knapsack, in an action, to come and indict their General in a civil court of justice, and swear that they suspected him of an understanding with the enemy, to have this General, without any other proof, and on the bare title of the accusation, put under arrest, and denied the means of defending himself. The King's commission does not so much as mention any such enquiry. It no more belongs to the civil magistrate, than the decision of a litigious civil affair to a court martial. What is more, it cannot be said, that there remains any doubt concerning his conduct as an officer, since nothing has been laid to his charge merely as such. Had he been but barely suspected of military misconduct, he would have been impeached before a court martial, as the only competent judges of such an impeachment. But, accused, as he is, of nothing but extortion, and a suspicion of high treason, they are the only things on which sentence is to be pronounced. Is he guilty? Is he innocent? To these two questions may be reduced the whole of this famous trial, to which calumny has subjected him, and which will ever remain an instance of the most odious and criminal persecution.

But one thing alone would be sufficient to discredit the men, who have informed against him,

him, and that is, the witnesses against him not so much as daring to hazard the mention of any intelligence between him and the English, though, in all their depositions, they have sought to compensate for that deficiency by the words, *no doubt*. The most inveterate of the military witnesses have deposed, in express terms, that they did not pretend to infer this pretended intelligence from his military conduct, though they took upon them to censure it in other respects. And, indeed, how is it possible to suppose this intelligence in a man, who took all he was worth with him to the Indies, and sacrificed it to the defence of the French settlements there against the English? In a man, who left in the treasury of Pondichery the whole of his pay, while in the Indies, amounting to 400,000 livres? In a man, in short, the bettering of whose fortune depended more on the success, than on the miscarriage, of the expedition he commanded, and who has brought upon himself the hatred of his accusers, merely by requiring their assistance against those very English, with whom they now accuse him of having had an understanding.

The foregoing is a full and faithful narrative of the expedition to the Indies. If all the facts alledged in it are supported by proofs, as, in truth, they are, what pun-

nishment can be bad enough for men, who have taken upon themselves to appear, at once, as informers, accusers, and witnesses against Count Lally in matters of such high concernment; and, after all, have not dared to advance them on the trial; and now, pulling in their horns, confine themselves to an impeachment of his military conduct, of which they were not witnesses, and of which, even had they been witnesses, they can by no means be allowed competent judges.

There is one more reflection to make, which arises, of itself, out the subject.

Count Lally complains of the high crime and misdemeanor committed by the subalterns in his person, as their chief, and as one, besides, honoured with the King's commission; and in that of the Intendant of the army, as likewise representing his Majesty.

To this it is answered, that the intention of the officers and servants of the Company, in riotously assembling as they did, was not to assassinate them, but merely to insult them; and it is added, that it was but natural for persons exasperated against Count Lally, to whom they attributed the loss of their employments, thus to gather together to insult him. As to their effects, they lost nothing, since,

since, at that juncture, their houses were to be spared.

Count Lally cannot allow this reason to be good in justice or policy ; it cannot, in particular, stand good in regard to the Intendant, to whom, certainly, they cannot attribute the loss of their employments ; whom they own they insulted notwithstanding ; and to whose charge they have nothing to lay, but his resenting such insult. But, supposing the fact to be as they themselves state it, which it really is not, they still own themselves the aggressors. Now the laws have enacted pains and penalties against aggressors. They agree, that the Intendant was killed in consequence of this insult. Now the laws have enacted pains and penalties against murderers.

If it is agreed, that these men were exasperated against Count Lally (they themselves affirm it upon oath) ought their testimony against him to be admitted in justice ? The laws forbid it, especially as they themselves confess their being exasperated against him.

It is said, that these three tumultuous meetings in one and the same day ; that the insult offered Count Lally ; that the murder of the Intendant ; were merely accidental, and the

effects of a sudden transport, that was very excuseable. If so, why was the design of getting rid of Count Lally pursued after his escape from Pondichery? Why was not the Intendant allowed Christian burial? Why was the seal taken from off his apartments, contrary to all the usual forms of justice? Why were his papers secreted, instead of being sent home to the ministry? Why was not the murderer stopt, though but for form sake?

In fine, these very persons were so thoroughly convinced, that the killing of the Intendant was a murder, that they have all deposed, though without being questioned about the matter, that they were not present at it. What was criminal in the Indies, cannot, surely, be meritorious in Europe. But these very gentlemen, to a man, all depose, that it was an affair of honour. How dare they, if they had not been present, give testimony in favour of the murderer? In trials, where more persons than one are accused, it must be the height of injustice to admit no evidence relating to some of the accused, but what makes for them; nor any relating to the rest, but what makes against them.

Now, to sum up the whole of Count Lally's civil and military conduct, what can be gathered from it?

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It can only be gathered, that, while Monsieur de Leyrit continued to pay Count Lally's army, the Count, notwithstanding the defeat of the Count d'Aché, and the undoubted superiority of the enemy by sea, made himself master of all the places, which that enemy possessed to the south of Pondichery.

It can only be gathered, that, on Monsieur de Leyrit's ceasing to pay the army, and the Count d'Aché's refusing to leave the road of Pondichery, Count Lally was obliged to suspend his operations for the space of three months.

That, in spite of the second defeat of the Count d'Aché, and his first desertion of Pondichery after a stay of four months, Count Lally, the very day the English squadron quitted the coast to go and winter at Bombay, took the field; made himself master of Arcot, and all the posts occupied by the English to the north of Pondichery; and that he even obliged them to shut themselves up in Madras.

That with 2700 men he ventured to besiege Madras, a well fortified place, garrisoned by 5000 men, and open to the sea; and was not able to take it.

That the army, with which the English kept the field, attempted no less than four times to raise the siege of Madras, and was as often repulsed, and compleatly routed.

That, when Count Lally found himself under a necessity of raising the siege of Madras on the arrival to its assistance of six ships and 600 regular troops, the council of Pondichery give him to understand, after a formal deliberation, that they would give him no manner of assistance, and that his army must find subsistence sword in hand.

That, in spite of the discontent of an army threatening every moment to go over to the enemy, and who mutinied twice on their not being paid, Count Lally made himself master of a fort, which till then had passed for impregnable, occupied by the enemy in the inland parts of the country; and that, two months after, he beat this same enemy, who came to attack him under the walls of Vandiwash, of which, as well as that of Arcot, he had before made them raise the siege.

It can only be gathered, that, as soon as the Count d'Aché appeared the second time at Pondichery, with a sum of about 440,000 livres, Count Lally, in spite of this Admiral's being defeated a third time, and his
then

then totally deserting the coast, after a stay of seven days only, took the field again in quest of the enemy.

That, this enemy having been reinforced by a regiment of regular troops from Europe under the command of Colonel Coote, and Count Lally, on the contrary, disappointed in his expectation of a reinforcement of 12,000 Blacks, which the brother of the sovereign of the country was bringing to him, he could not with an army of 1250 men beat that of the enemy amounting to 2600.

It can only be gathered, that with 1300 Europeans, without any Blacks for want of money to pay them, he could not face, in the open field, an enemy of thrice his strength, and, at the same time, beat off a squadron of fourteen vessels of the line blocking up Pondichery, to the assistance of which he again found himself obliged to fly.

That afterwards, his army being reduced to 700 regular troops against 15,000 land forces and fourteen men of war of the line, he found himself under the necessity of surrendering to the enemy, after the place he was in had been invested and blocked up for nine months together; and did not surrender, till he had not a grain of rice, or morsel

of any other kind of food, left for his garrison, already exhausted by famine and fatigue.

That, after giving ten battles, and taking ten places, all with the same troops against an enemy constantly recruited from Europe, he at length yielded to superior numbers.

That, from the day of the arrival of Messieurs de Buff, and Moracin at Pondichery, and Count Lally's refusing to let them have half his troops to join those they had left behind them at their respective commands, in order to make war on their own private accounts, they traversed all his operations; and, with the assistance of two profligate friars, endeavoured to incense the whole settlement against him.

It can only be gathered, that with four millions of livres there is no making head against seventy five-millions; that with 2000 men there is no making head against 5000; and that, without a single boat, there is no making head against fourteen ships of the line.

In a word, it can only be gathered, that the whole council, and all the servants of the Company, had no other motive for rising up
against

against Count Lally, but his wanting to oblige them to contribute in money to the defence of Pondichery. He had a right to require it, as he had given the example. Besides, these servants owed their fortunes to the Company, whereas Count Lally sacrificed his to it.

Is it any way surprizing, that, in order to preserve fortunes, which Count Lally offered to prove had been fraudulently acquired, those very men, to whom their masters had communicated the complaints exhibited against them by the Count, should combine to impeach him, without being able to bring a single proof, of the very same crimes, of which he intended to impeach themselves, and of which he was ready to produce the clearest evidence, and which it was their interest to stifle, or at least invalidate. This is what they have attained by their wicked combinations, and by acting the abominable part of informers and witnesses. But truth, which begins to break out on every side in favour of Count Lally, will at length make his innocence triumph.



MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT LALLY.



A SHORT REVIEW OF THE CAPITULATION OF PONDICHERY.

THE commander of a place besieged cannot be justly blamed for capitulating, unless he does it, while he has any means of defence left ; and, consequently, can oblige the besiegers to grant him his own terms, in case the good of the service should require his giving up the place to them.

Now it has been proved, that there did not remain a grain of rice, or morsel of any other kind of provisions, in Pondichery, when Count Lally surrendered it.

It

It has been proved, that there was not, of the whole garrison, fifty men able to crawl upon the ramparts, when Count Lally surrendered it.

It has been proved, that the English were well acquainted with the condition of the place. This they let Count Lally know. And, indeed, how was it possible for them not to be acquainted with it, since, besides the illegal correspondence carried on between Pondichery and the English camp, of which Count Lally was continually complaining, as appears by pieces produced in the course of this trial ; besides the scandalous and indiscreet discourses, which 200 officers or servants of the Company, going and coming between Pondichery and Madras in quality of prisoners of war, used to hold at the tables of the English ; many of the inhabitants, and even of the officers, in order to avoid starving, daily left the town to surrender themselves voluntarily to the English ; since, in short, the English kept the place blocked up for nine months together, and the French were going to surrender it without waiting till it was actually attacked.

It has been proved, that Count Lally required of the English better terms, than the condition, to which Pondichery was reduced, permitted him to hope they would grant him.

It

It has been, in a word, proved, that the English granted the inhabitants of Pondichery much better terms than they had a right to expect, since they received them as prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty ; left them all their moveable effects, a condition, which Count Lally had refused the English at Fort St. David, though still in a state of defence ; and even allowed them money to purchase present subsistence.

Pondichery had been blocked up and invested for nine months together, by an army of 4500 Europeans, 10,000 Black horse and foot, and fourteen ships of the line.

Count Lally, after keeping the English at bay for five months together, found himself, at last, under a necessity of retiring into the place with 100 regular troops, 200 sailors and 200 Blacks, who, before the end of the month, were all gone for want of pay and subsistence.

Count Lally had tried every method to keep within bounds the garrison, who no longer received any pay ; and likewise the inhabitants, whom the council of Pondichery were constantly endeavouring to spirit up against him, on account of his pretended rigour in ordering a search for grain, which the inhabitants made a practice of burying under ground.

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The daily hopes of the Count d'Aché's arrival rendered such a search necessary; and, had not Count Lally flattered himself with these hopes, he would have surrendered the place three months sooner; and then there would have been no search; and he would have obtained conditions, which the English, it is true, would not have observed, since they had the candour to own in their manifesto, that, had they been under a necessity of granting any, they would have afterwards found some pretext for breaking them.

On the 24th of December 1760, there remained in the magazines but eight days subsistence for the soldiers, at the rate of but half a pound of rice a day for every man, without any kind of wet provisions, or any other kind of dry.

Count Lally had been confined to his bed for twenty days past. In this extremity he resolves to write to Brigadier Landivisiau, whom he had charged with the detail of the place, and tells him, that it was time to think of the terms they intended to ask the English; and, as the capitulation was to take in the whole settlement, he enjoined him, in conjunction with Monsieur de Leyrit, to call a mixed council, in order to deliberate upon these terms; adding, that he would not, by
any

any means, take it upon himself to name them, as he was persuaded, that, let them be what they would, the council of Pondichery would not fail to disapprove them. Besides, it is customary in the Indies, for the inhabitants to have a share with the army in all capitulations.

Monfieur de Leyrit and the council of Pondichery, aware that, confidering the sad condition of the place, and the enemies being acquainted with the condition of it as well as themselves, they could not expect any advantageous terms, would have been glad to see Count Lally take the capitulation entirely upon himself, and alone run the risk of the arrival of Monfieur d'Aché, whom they expected, and who might poffibly appear on the coaft within two hours, nay a quarter of an hour, of his capitulating. But this was a risk, to which Count Lally did not think proper to expofe himfelf; and, accordingly, he particularly obferved in his letter to the Brigadier, that the mixed council could not too ferioufly reflect on the double inconveniency, either of obtaining lefs difadvantageous terms by furrendering the town the fooner at the risk of the French fquadron's arriving, or to obtain no conditions at all by waiting to the laft extremity in hopes of the arrival of that fquadron, which

which would have saved it. It must be allowed, that the resolution taken by Count Lally was the wisest he could take.

Brigadier Landivisiau, who at this juncture abused the confidence placed in him by Count Lally, took advantage of the condition to which the Count's weakness had reduced him, and had combined with Monsieur de Leyrit and Father Lavour to deceive him, makes answer, that his orders to assemble a mixed council are too vague for him to obey them. On the 27th, Count Lally summons him in the King's name to obey, and assemble the council. The Brigadier then informs him, that he has obeyed; that he has communicated to Monsieur de Leyrit his reiterated orders for the assembling of a mixed council; but that Monsieur de Leyrit, as well as himself, was of opinion, that it would be time enough to think of it, when the place was reduced to the last extremity; and that then little time would be requisite to draw up, propose, and discuss what terms it would be proper to ask the enemy.

This answer of Messieurs Landivisiau and de Leyrit evidently proves, that they did not at that juncture expect good terms; and, accordingly, Count Lally replied, that it would be then too late to think of them.

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The truth is, the mixed council was not assembled, and Count Lally was brought too low by sickness to see his orders obeyed. It has, therefore, been proved by pieces produced in the course of this trial, that Count Lally was willing to make a capitulation, in concert with the council of Pondichery, for the whole settlement, civil as well as military; and that Messieurs de Leyrit and de Landivisiau, and the council of Pondichery, refused to concur with him.

On this refusal, Count Lally resolved to retard as long as possible the surrender of the place, threatened Father Lavour with orders to have his convent searched for grain, which he knew was buried in it. Father Lavour, to avoid this search, took upon him to subsist the garrison till the 15th of January.

It was now what they call in the Indies the little monsoon, during which vessels from Europe frequently appear on the coast. Count Lally was still in hopes of the Count d'Aché's squadron, or, at least, some ships of it, arriving to the relief of Pondichery; and, in fact, five ships would have been sufficient, not only to crush the English squadron, which had just lost nine of its largest vessels by a hurricane, but render the French masters

ers of the Indian seas, and give law to the coast for eighteen months, at least.

In fine, on the 12th of January, Count Lally finding, that there remained in the magazines but a pound of rice for every foldier, on which the longest he could possibly be expected to hold out was three days, writes to Monsieur de Leyrit, that the extremity, he would have the settlement wait for, was come in good earnest; and that he must now seriously sit down to draw up articles of captulation, unless he intended to abandon the inhabitants to the discretion of the enemy.

Monsieur de Leyrit, after the example set him by Brigadier Landivisiau, answers Count Lally, that the words of his letter are too vague for the council to pay any regard to it. Count Lally summons them to obey; causes his summons to be registered; and sends notice to Monsieur de Leyrit, that, if he persists in his disobedience, he (Count Lally) will, on his side, send Lieutenant Colonel Dure to the English Commander, to treat with him about the evacuation of the place by the King and the Company's troops.

He, at the same time, sends one of his Aids de Camp to Monsieur de Leyrit, to let him

H know

know, how much this his strange behaviour perplexed and astonished him; particularly his not coming, though their apartments lay in the same gallery, to consult with him about the measures proper to be taken in so interesting and critical a juncture. It must be allowed, that it was Monsieur de Leyrit's duty not to wait for this message, especially as Count Lally was confined to his bed. But the difficulty is solved by Monsieur de Leyrit's answer to the *Aid de Camp*. He sends Count Lally word, that the council knew what they had to do; and that, if he, (Count Lally) had any thing to communicate to him, he might do it by Father Lavour.

The 13th passes. The next day, Monsieur de Leyrit and the council of Pondichery answer Count Lally's summons, that had been served on them the evening before, by another summons to him, on their part, to ask of the English Commander, that very moment, a suspension of arms; and to promise him, at the same time, that the day following, the 15th, they would propose articles of capitulation to him. This would have been little better than telling the English, that the French found themselves unable to defend the place, if it should be attacked the next night. This act of the council, and the insolent expressions

in which it was drawn up, would never be believed, if the original itself, signed by this council, was not to the fore. The heads of all the several civil communities took offence at it, and acquainted the council with their indignation, in writing. Yet this is the very council, who have agreed in all their depositions to complain of Count Lally's tyrannizing over them, and that they paid a blind obedience to all his dictates.

It may now be asked, why Monsieur de Leyrit and the council of Pondichery, ³¹ instead of drawing up the articles which Count Lally required of them, caused this indecent summons to be served on him, as if they wanted to prove, by an authentic act, a refusal, on his part, to capitulate for all the inhabitants? But the dates of the letters prove; nothing more is requisite than to verify them, to make it evidently appear; that these pieces of Monsieur de Leyrit and the council are but answers to the orders given them by Count Lally to think seriously about bettering the condition of those very inhabitants. It is only in hell so many abominations could be forged; and it is only in the Indies hell could find workmen to employ them.

Count Lally, at length, tired out with all the sinister proceedings, on receiving this singular

summons of the council of Pondichery, determines to call, without any more loss of time, a council of war, composed of all the principal officers of the garrison, and of all the heads of the several civil communities. He acquaints Monsieur de Leyrit with this resolution by Father Lavour. Monsieur de Leyrit, upon this, instead of coming to Count Lally, as it was his duty to do, assembles, on his side, the council of Pondichery.

The council of war draw up the articles of capitulation to be asked of the enemy for the troops, and for the inhabitants, in general, as deemed soldiers in the Indies. They therein stipulate for the religious houses and the hospitals, the exercise of the Catholic religion, &c. and declare to the English, that the place shall be given up to them on the conditions of the cartel concluded, between the two respective sovereigns in Europe, for their subjects when prisoners of war. They stipulate, at the same time, by this declaration, that the council of Pondichery shall treat separately with the English Commander for what more immediately relates to the inhabitants. All the members of the council of war gave their advice separately in writing, with their motives for it, so as to prove, that there was no expecting, or even proposing, other conditions than those required of the enemy

enemy by these articles. They, likewise put their names to the back of the minute of this declaration, which the day following, the 15th of January, was to be sent to the English Commander.

The council of Pondichery, on their side, draw up articles of capitulation for the inhabitants. Count Lally names a Counsellor and an under-merchant to carry these articles, in conjunction with a Lieutenant Colonel, to the English Commander.

Father Lavour is commissioned to communicate to Count Lally, for his approbation, these articles of the council of Pondichery. The first imported, that the English should allow the town a suspension of arms for fifteen days; and, in that interval, permit the garrison and the inhabitants to provide themselves with provisions in the English camp; and that, if the Count d'Aché did not arrive, before the expiration of that term, to the relief of the place, they would then consent to capitulate.

This article appeared so extravagant to Count Lally, that he struck it out with his own hand. In fact, to ask besiegers to feed you for fifteen days, is no better than

telling them, that you are actually starving; to tell them, that you expect in that interval such succours, as will hinder them from taking you, is an idea worthy of a council of merchants only. Yet this is the idea of a military man; it is that of Monsieur Dure, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of artillery and fortification in the Indies. He allows in his deposition, and even glories, that he drew up for the council of Pondichery these articles of capitulation, without the knowledge of Count Lally; without the knowledge of his General; a thing incredible! and that, too, while he was signing the contrary in a council of war, to which he had been summoned. And, in order to leave no room for doubting the duplicity and absurdity of this same Monsieur Dure, Count Lally here gives, word for word, the opinion of that gentleman, with his motives for it, all in his own hand writing, and signed by himself. This opinion Count Lally has exhibited in the course of the trial. It is as follows:

My opinion is, that we should surrender ourselves prisoners of war on the terms of the cartel concluded between his Britannic Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, agreeable to the above declaration of Monsieur Count Lally; our condition not permitting us to expect better terms, as we have but two days provision left. At Pondichery

chery the 14th of January, 1761. Signed Dure, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the artillery.

Would any man of common honesty, after reading the above opinion of Monsieur Dure, and in his own hand writing, imagine, that the self same Monsieur Dure could be so bold as judicially to depose, that a paper was put into his hands to sign, while he was running in haste to a battery, without his knowing a word of what it contained. Yet he has deposed it. Count Lally stops here, and leaves the public to judge Monsieur Dure.

It is this self-same Monsieur Dure, who was commissioned to carry to the English Commander the capitulation drawn up by Count Lally and the council of war. It is by him and Monsieur Courtin, the last a member of the council of Pondichery, who were jointly charged to carry the capitulation drawn up by that body, so many extravagant speeches have been put into the mouth of the English Commander, whom these two witnesses assure the world they found disposed to grant them all the conditions they could have asked, had they been commissioned by Count Lally to ask any.

As to the other articles, contained in this capitulation, drawn up by the council of Pon-

dichery, Count Lally acquiesced in them. But the English did not think them the less ridiculous. Accordingly, the account given of them to the English Court by the council of Madras is, as follows: *The deputies of the council of Pondichery, authorised by Monsieur de Lally, presented Colonel Coote with seven articles, in which they asked every thing that a place in the best state of defence could expect; they asked, in a word, that the English garrison should but relieve the French garrison, till the conclusion of a peace. But these conditions were all rejected by him as they deserved.*

Count Lally, on his side, sends to Monsieur de Leyrit, by Father Lavaur, the minute of the capitulation drawn up by the council of war. Monsieur de Leyrit reads it; and, without making the least remark upon it, sends it back to Count Lally.

The day following, the 15th, Count Lally sends Monsieur Dure to the English Commander with the capitulation of the council of war. At the same time, he sends Monsieur Courtin a member of the council of Pondichery, and Monsieur Tobin an under-merchant, with that of the council of Pondichery.

And

And here it is worth observing, that this under-merchant was joined to Monsieur Courtin, and invested with the same powers, merely because he was master of the English language. It is likewise worth observing, that this under-merchant has deposed, that he did not hear a tittle of the pretended discourse, which this Monsieur Courtin has put into the mouth of the English Commander, and of which the absurdity alone is sufficient to prove the falsehood. For how could this Commander have told Monsieur Courtin, that Count Lally offered him the town at discretion, seeing Count Lally demanded, as conditions, the execution of the cartel? How could this Commander have told Monsieur Courtin. “I would willingly grant you conditions, but Monsieur de Lally will not accept of any?” Monsieur Courtin was not admitted to the presence of the English Commander, but in virtue of Count Lally’s commission to him to ask conditions. Monsieur Dure deposes, that he did not assist at the conferences between Monsieur Courtin and the English Commander. Monsieur Tobin, Monsieur Courtin’s colleague, deposes the same thing. And Monsieur Courtin deposes, that he had set aside Monsieur Tobin as interpreter between him and the English Commander, and made use, in his stead, of the secretary of the Governor
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of Madras. But this behaviour of Monsieur Courtin must be allowed very criminal. How could he know, if this interpreter of his, an enemy, faithfully translated the answers of the English Commander? This Monsieur Courtin is weak enough to own himself guilty, in order to establish an imposture against Count Lally, and that on his bare word?

The English Commander gives his answer in writing to every article of the capitulation, which Count Lally demanded of him. He requires, that the garrison and the inhabitants should surrender themselves, purely and simply, prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, and promises to treat the inhabitants favourably, without contracting any other engagement. It is to be observed, that this is the very same answer, which Admiral Watson had given Monsieur Renaut for the settlement of Chandernagor, and the other French factories in Bengal; and that it is the same, which Count Lally had given Mr. Winch for Fort St. David.

As to the other articles stipulated by the council of Pondichery, the English Commander refused them all, giving the deputies to understand, that he had taken particular notice, in his answer to Count Lally, of the
treatment

treatment he was resolved to grant the inhabitants of Pondichery.

Neither Monsieur Dure, deputed from the council of war, nor the gentlemen deputed from the council of Pondichery, nor Count Lally, nor the council of Pondichery, nor a single inhabitant of Pondichery, expected better treatment; and an unquestionable proof of it is, that these deputies staid quietly in the English camp, though but a small half league from the place, from four o'clock in the afternoon till two o'clock the next morning; and that they supped there without giving Count Lally the least notice of what kept them. Every corporal knows, that a person deputed from one enemy to another, though no better than a drum or a trumpet, is admitted the moment he presents himself, and immediately sent back with his answer.

Father Lavour, who furnished the canvas for the impeachment which Count Lally's accusers were to bring against him, knew nothing of this rule of war. Monsieur Courtin was equally ignorant of it. And Monsieur Dure, if he knew any thing of it, is not, as we have seen, very delicate in matter of perjury. Count Lally is possessed of three perjuries of this gentleman's, all in his own hand

hand writing; and all contradicting the deposition of his now in question.

The proof of this is, that the deputy, Monsieur Courtin, on coming back to Pondichery, went to bed without condescending to inform Count Lally, or even Monsieur de Leyrit, *whom at his confrontation he declares he always considered as his supreme and only Commander*, with the success of his errand. It was, nevertheless, at eight that very morning, that the English were to take possession of one of the gates according to the rules of war.

A capitulation is not closed, till the besieged have submitted to the terms, which the besiegers think proper to impose upon them. Count Lally, therefore, might have renewed his fire, if these deputies had acquainted him, that the terms, which the English Commander was willing to grant, were not acceptable. They, consequently, submitted to them. And, if the English had insisted on the place's surrendering to them at discretion, or even upon more shameful terms, there would have been a necessity for submitting, as there was no keeping them out. Monsieur de Leyrit and the council declare in their summons, that the garrison was no longer in a condition to defend

defend the place, though the fortifications of it had been compleat, against a simple escalade. The same Monsieur Courtin has deposed, that, were it not for fear of his head, as he knew the place had but a few minutes subsistence left, (these are his words) he would have insisted on more advantageous terms. He agrees, therefore, that it is by the condition of a place, the right of the besieged to insist upon terms, or refuse those offered by the besiegers, is to be determined.

Messieurs Dure and Courtin depose, that they did not so much as know, one the subject of the other's errand. They, nevertheless, set out together from Pondichery for the English camp. It was Monsieur Dure, who, the evening before, drew up the articles, of which Monsieur Courtin was the bearer. That is, therefore, as much as to say, that these two deputies, who set out from Pondichery together, remained ten hours together in the English Commander's anti-chamber, without either of them asking the other, "What brought you here?" In things of less moment, such witnesses would be sent to a mad-house. Monsieur Dure goes still further. He says, that he did not so much as know the subject of his own errand; that he received a letter to carry; that he waited

nine

nine hours for an answer; and that he knows no more of the matter. Yet he gave under his hand, that, at nine in the morning, a gate should be given up to the English. Such are the two witnesses confronted with Count Lally on the capitulation of Pondichery; witnesses, who contradict each other upon all the circumstances relative to that capitulation; witnesses, one of whom was by Count Lally convicted of and reprimanded for fraud, the other embezzlement; and both convicted of giving false testimony.

The fact is. Had Count Lally delayed but six hours longer to give up the place to the enemy, the French troops and inhabitants would have found themselves under a necessity of quitting it, to give themselves up to him at discretion.

The fact is, that, the council of Pondichery having refused to concur with Count Lally in this capitulation, Count Lally was obliged to wait this last extremity, fearing lest the Count d'Aché's squadron should appear on the coast the next quarter of an hour after he had capitulated without their concurrence. It is then the council of Pondichery would have supported their impostures, by the appearance of an understanding between Count Lally and the English; that they would have
accused

accused him of being in a hurry to put the English in possession of the place. They would have then deposed, that the magazines were still full; that the garrison was in a condition to attack the English, and would have beat them; they would suppose the arrival of some deserter or peasant, by whom Count Lally might have been informed, that the French squadron had appeared on the coast.

There was, therefore, a necessity for Count Lally's proving, by some authentic act of the council of Pondichery, before he gave up that place, the actual condition of it, as well as of its garrison. The council of Pondichery's concurring with Count Lally in the capitulation would have prevented their advancing, and thereby rendered useless, all the abominations they were then forging against him; and this is the reason why they refused to concur with him. It was impossible not to make a bad capitulation. They, therefore, wanted, that Count Lally alone should make it, in order to be able to lay the blame of it entirely at his door. Count Lally's letters to Messieurs de Leyrit and Landivisiau prove, that he saw into the iniquity of their designs.

The truth, in a word, is, that Pondichery obtained the same conditions, and the same treatment,

treatment, with all the places taken by Count Lally from the English, and by the English from Count Lally, during the whole course of the war, in consequence of the instructions sent by the English and French Companies to their respective factories in the Indies.

But Count Lally might have spared himself the trouble of answering all the absurdities advanced by the two foregoing deputies, and exaggerated by the other witnesses, whom these deputies have taken care to lecture on the pretended possibility of obtaining more advantageous terms for the inhabitants of Pondichery; and confine himself to the following fact.

The Governor of Madras, who had repaired to the English army in order to direct the capitulation to be granted Pondichery, had in his pocket the duplicate of the instructions given to the Counts Lally and d'Aché. This duplicate was that very duplicate, which Monsieur de Leyrit had received from court, and which he had communicated to his Fellow Governor of Madras. Count Lally knows, that Monsieur de Leyrit and Father Lavour have given out, that these instructions were taken in a boat, which Monsieur de Leyrit had, fourteen
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teen days before the surrender of Pondichery, dispatched privately with some other effects to Tranquebar. But what reason could Monsieur de Leyrit have for not keeping by him these instructions? What reason could he have for exposing them in a boat to the English squadron then in the road, while the communication was open by land; and while more than 200 prisoners, besides members of the council, officers, servants of the Company, Friars, and others, with passes from the English Commander, were quitting Pondichery to go to Madras, Tranquebar belonging to the Danes, and Pullicat and Negapatnam belonging to the Dutch. Nay, two months before, this self-same Monsieur de Leyrit sent thirty chests to Tranquebar, in a vessel for which Mr. Law had obtained a pass from the English Admiral.

Be it treason, be it indiscretion in Monsieur de Leyrit, the fact is, that the Governor of Madras had the very duplicate of Count Lally and the Count d'Aché's instructions, which the court had sent to Monsieur de Leyrit.

The fact is, that the Governor of Madras cites these instructions in his manifesto, to justify the rigour with which he treated Pon-

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dichery, when the English Commanders had put him in possession of it.

The fact is, that these instructions, which the English caused to be printed and published, forbid Count Lally and the Count d'Aché to grant any conditions to the English fett'lements they might conquer; and enjoined them to transport all the inhabitants, both civil and military without distinction, to the Island of Bourbon. Accordingly, these very English have made a merit, in the eyes of all Europe, of having treated, when they took Pondichery, the French better, than the French had orders to treat them, had they taken Madras.

Count Lally now appeals to the impartial world, if he could expect better conditions from the English, than those which the English could prove he would have granted to them? He calls upon the most prejudiced to declare, what they can alledge against a fact of this nature, and so clearly proved.

Monfieur de Leyrit, therefore, is alone to blame for the English Commander's having refused Count Lally the terms he required, though this Commander had not been authorised to refuse them by the condition, in which the place was when put into his hands. Monfieur de Leyrit, therefore, is alone responsible

ſponſible for the demolition of the houſes at Pondichery, as well the one hundred and four European houſes, as thoſe belonging to the Blacks, of which this factory conſiſted.

But what puniſhment can be bad enough for a witneſs, Monſieur Courtin is the man, who dares to depoſe, that the Engliſh commander ſhewed him the declaration of Count Lally and the council of war, by which they offered to ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion; whereas Monſieur Dure, his colleague, depoſes, that the Engliſh Commander ſaid, “ I conſent to receive the troops and the inhabitants priſoners of his Britannic Majeſty, but it muſt be at diſcretion.” Count Lally, therefore, did not offer to ſurrender at diſcretion. Nevertheless, theſe two witneſſes had ſeen, and one of them had even ſigned, the declaration of the council of war. What is more ſtill, the Engliſh Commander’s anſwer had been interpreted to them. Monſieur Dure would have done very ill to take charge of it, without knowing what it contained; and for the ſame reaſon, that Monſieur Dure was to get interpreted by Monſieur Tobin the declaration written in French, as the Engliſh Commander did not underſtand the French, he ſhould have got interpreted the anſwer in Engliſh of this Commander, as he (Monſieur Dure) did not underſtand the Engliſh. A

man should have a pardon in his pocket to advance such absurdities and contradictions.

In a word, it was not Count Lally, it was a council of war, that settled and signed the form, in which Pondichery should be surrendered to the English, and the terms to be asked of them. The laws have not enjoined any set forms for a capitulation.

A capitulation, is generally, a paper written by the besieged, in which they desire to be allowed such and such terms on delivering the place to the besiegers; and another paper written by the besiegers, in which they allow or refuse the besieged such and such terms. Count Lally produces these respective writings. After all, a capitulation would still be a capitulation, though there should be no writing on either side, but merely words of honour.

Count Lally asked for Pondichery all the conditions that any man could possibly expect, as well by Monsieur Dure, as by authorising Monsieur Courtin to propose those extravagant terms, with which the council had charged him, though he (Count Lally) knew full well, that Monsieur Courtin would never obtain them. And, indeed, how could it be expected, that the English Commander should grant Monsieur Courtin such extravagant terms,

terms, when he refused to grant much more moderate and reasonable ones to Monsieur Dure. It cannot, surely, be expected, that a man, who refuses to grant a little, should yet be willing to grant a great deal.

The opinion of a council of war has ever been deemed sufficient to justify a General in all critical operations. The Princes of the blood, the Father of the King himself, have submitted to councils of war. It is impossible to attack the capitulation, the declaration, the letter ; in a word, the writing, by which Count Lally surrendered Pondichery to the English, without attacking all those who signed that writing. It would be running counter to all the laws and customs of war.

But it is impossible to attack either Count Lally or the council of war, on the capitulation of Pondichery. They had taken the only method to prevent, as much as in them lay, not only the destruction of the houses, but even the demolition of the fortifications, by putting it into the hands of his Britannic Majesty instead of the English Company. His Britannic Majesty's Commanders took possession of it as such ; and, when they afterwards saw themselves obliged to give it up to the English Company, on that Company's officers refusing to subside their forces, they formally opposed the demolition of it, as

being a *royal conquest*, (these are their words) and immediately depending upon his Britannic Majesty. The proof of this assertion is to be found in the manifesto of the council of Madras; and even in the verbal process, which the council of Pondichery made on the surrender of that place, and two months after that event sent to court. This council had not as yet forged all those abominable lies, which they since agreed in Paris to depose against Count Lally, as soon as by their cabals they had contrived to put it out of his power to defend himself.

But what! Is it possible, that all the councils of war held by the Count d'Aché on board his squadron to justify his not sailing to Madras, at Count Lally's requisition, immediately after the taking of Fort St. David, should be deemed sufficient for that purpose? to justify his returning, after a four months stay on the coast, to the Madagascar Islands, before the season required it; and his abandoning Count Lally for thirteen months together, in spite of the resolutions and protests of the council of Pondichery? to justify his again abandoning Pondichery, the year following, after a stay of twenty-four hours only in the road of it, and returning to the Madagascar Islands, in spite of the representations of the council of Pondichery,

Pondichery, and the joint and unanimous protest of all the several civil and religious communities of the settlement, purposely assembled to oppose his taking that step? to justify, in a word, his not coming to the relief of Pondichery during the whole course of the sixteen months immediately preceding the surrender of it, though he knew it to be at the last gasp; and even his not sending four or five vessels of his squadron, which would have been sufficient to save it; and, that too, contrary to the opinion of the council of Mauritius, and even some of his own officers?

And can it be at the same time possible, that all the councils of war, all the resolutions of the council of Pondichery, at which Count Lally assisted, and by which he regulated his principal operations, should not only be deemed null and of no effect towards his justification, because he assisted at them, and gave his opinion like all the other members; but that he should even be made responsible for the events, that have happened in consequence thereof?

Is it possible, that winds, waves, and other circumstances peculiar to a sea war, should be deemed sufficient for the acquittal of the Count d'Aché, in regard to the three battles, in which he happened to be worsted; and that it should be made a crime

in Count Lally, that out of ten battles he lost one, in which he had but 1250 men to fight 2600; that with 1500 men he could not drive from the neighbourhood of Pondichery 15,000, supported by fourteen vessels of the line anchored in the road of the self-same Pondichery; and oblige these forces to raise the blockade of it?

It would be odious to admit such a contrast; it is, even, impossible to conceive it. It shocks reason, wounds justice, and is repugnant to humanity.

Though Count Lally has not been heard as to his military conduct; though he has not been permitted to challenge, at the same time, his accusers and witnesses upon this head, as being foreign to the tenor of his Majesty's commission, and a subject upon which the Parliament did not propose to sit; he is not the less ready to give an account of it, when he has gone through his trial for extortion and treason, (crimes, which his accusers have endeavoured to fix upon him without one of them daring to point out any particular instance of his guilt) if the King is of opinion, that his military conduct ought to be enquired into by military men, whether his superiors or equals, properly qualified to form a judgment of it.

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The Count d'Aché, it is true, declared at his interrogatory, that he did not think himself obliged to answer upon that head ; and his answering upon it was, accordingly, dispensed with. Count Lally, out of his regard to justice, contented himself with saying, that he was not afraid of being able to justify his military conduct, when he should be supplied with the means of doing it allowed by the laws, but which he has not as yet been able to obtain.

The operations of a General are far more complex than those of an Admiral ; and, consequently, require a much longer discussion.

An Admiral, wherever he goes, carries his magazines along with him. He is not liable to delays for want of subsistence. He does not stand in need of money. Wherever he is, there is his artillery, and that, too, ready mounted, without the expence or trouble of buying and feeding cattle to draw it. He has no defiles, no hollow ways, no mountains, no woods, no rivers, to pass ; no posts to attack or defend ; no fatigues to bear in marching and counter-marching ; no earth to dig and remove. He has his enemy constantly in sight, and can distinguish all his operations. He is not afraid of his men deserting him. When to the windward of an enemy, he fights

fights him when, and as much only, as he pleases. When to the leeward, he may, if he fails as well, avoid him without danger or disgrace. In a word, the success of a sea fight depends entirely on the skill and courage of the Commander, who has all the parts of his machine within his reach and under his eye, and can direct them by a single signal, without any obstacle from the stage on which he acts, especially in the Indian seas, which are always calm, and where the winds, for six months together, blow regularly from the same quarter.

A General has none of these advantages. He has constantly all the opposite inconveniences to contend with. Hence it may be gathered, that an enquiry into the military conduct of a General requires a discussion, of which military men alone can be supposed capable. Such men, were they to enquire into Count Lally's conduct, would be astonished at his operations in the Indies, considering the means with which he was provided for carrying them on. He was subordinate, in all his enterprises, to the motions of a squadron, which, every time it appeared on the coast, was unfortunate enough to fly before that of the English; thereby leaving them masters of the Indian seas for three years together.

together. He was totally abandoned by this same squadron during the sixteen months immediately preceding the loss of Pondichery. He was subordinate to a Governor charged with procuring him the necessary funds, and who suffered him, notwithstanding, to wait them six weeks after his landing at Pondichery. He found himself at the head of an army every moment threatening to revolt for want of pay, and often for want of subsistence; an army, which twice deserted its colours to go over to the enemy; an army, which had always sea and land forces to struggle with, an army in its front, and a fleet of fourteen ships in its rear; and that without receiving the smallest assistance from Europe; at the head, in short, of a council of merchants, who, enraged at seeing a Commissary from his Majesty, especially a military man, come from Europe to enquire into their conduct, combined to make all his enterprises miscarry, and gave out, before he arrived, that they would make the gentlemen of Paris (meaning the Directors) sick of sending to them any more rulers immediately invested with the royal authority; a council composed of men, who have been constantly in league against all such rulers; a council composed of those very men, who made an attempt on the life of Monsieur de la Bourdonnois; who obliged Monsieur de Godeheu to fly Pondichery

chery in about seven months after his arrival, though his instructions were to reside there three years ; and who, during his stay there, laid him under the necessity of taking uncommon precautions for the safety of his person ; who drove from Pondichery Monsieur Clouet, appointed Commissary to enquire into their administration ; who made an attempt on the life of Count Lally, and closed the scene by actually murdering the Intendant of his army. He was at the head of those men, whose masters, on Count Lally's departure from Europe, gave him, in writing, an account of their embezzlements, and never ceased threatening them during his stay in the Indies, and injoining the Count to chastise them,

All these facts are supported by proofs in writing, and these proofs are in the proper offices.

Count Lally finishes this short review by an observation, which he cannot too often repeat. He was put under arrest in consequence of a cry of extortion raised against him by a cabal of men, whom he had himself accused, and offered to convict, of that very crime. These men have not been able to furnish the shadow of a proof against him upon that head. When he had been confined fifteen months, they
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took it into their heads to give out, that they suspected him of having had an understanding with the enemy. This gross artifice having failed of success for want of proofs, they now confine themselves to an impeachment of his military conduct, of which, though they had been witnesses to it, they are not qualified to judge. But they will soon be confounded, since there is not a single imputation of theirs, of which Count Lally has not sufficiently cleared himself.





MEMOIRS

O F

COUNT LALLY.



AN ENQUIRY INTO THE REAL
CAUSES OF THE LOSS OF
THE INDIES.

SINCE the loss of Pondichery, the public has thought of nothing else. It is still the chief subject of every conversation. No stone has been left unturned to make Count Lally the author of that misfortune. It is time the delusion should cease. Count Lally did not set out for the Indies without the strictest orders to enquire into the abuses committed there, and punish them. The persons guilty of these abuses were even pointed out to him. At his arrival, he
found

found every thing in the most shocking disorder. He had to punish embezzlements, disobedience, theft, baseness, cowardice, mutiny. He had to bring back to their duty some officers, who neglected it. Hence the league formed against him by a number of men conscious that they were ruined themselves, if they did not ruin Count Lally. Hence that inveteracy, with which they have kept up the notion conceived by the public, that he was, alone, the author of the loss of the Indies.

On his return to Europe, Count Lally offered the Ministry and the Company to prove the mal-practices, which he had been obliged to enquire into ; and even bring back into the coffers of the Company several millions, which would have restored their commerce from the very first year of the peace.

Is it surprising, that the persons guilty of so many enormities should endeavour to stifle Count Lally's voice ? It is, indeed, very odd, so odd as to do their understanding little honour, that they should think of charging him with those very crimes and disorders, which they themselves committed, as appears by the accounts laid by him before the Ministry and the Company.

In a scandalous memorial, presented to the Ministry, these men have been very liberal in their promises to furnish proofs against Count Lally ; but, after four years spent in looking for them, they have not as yet been able to produce any. On the contrary, the proofs of Count Lally against them are to be found in pieces written and signed by themselves. Yet, what can scarce be believed, the Directors of the Company have rejected these pieces, without so much as vouchsafing to cast an eye on them. Nay, they have solicited the Ministry to acquaint Count Lally, even in the King's name, that they would not receive any of the eclairsissements, with which he offered to supply them.

These gentlemen have, moreover, declared to the Ministry, that they were satisfied with the conduct of their Council and other servants in the Indies, though Count Lally has by him more than twenty pieces signed by these very Directors, expressing their dissatisfaction with these very servants, and requesting him to see them punished.

The gentlemen of this council arrive in Europe without either their books or their registers. Nay, they are not so much as called upon for them. They all fasten, as creditors, upon the Company, each certifying for the justice of the other's demand. The
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Directors admit these demands. They approve the accounts of Monsieur de Leyrit and Desvaux, the Company's stewards in the Indies, who had driven away a Commissary, sent there by the Company purposely to examine these accounts, against which half the council of Pondichery had solemnly protested. It is only the right of the officers to their pay, the price of their blood, which the Directors call into question. But Count Lally, on his leaving the Indies, made the council's clerk give him an abstract of their registers. Why did not the gentlemen of the Council bring such an abstract with them to Europe? Have they been employed these four years past in forging new registers? They run no risk in doing it. Their registers will never be compared with the abstract Count Lally thought proper to provide himself with. It is not, but that many of the members of the old direction, in particular the Marquis de Montmorency, Messieurs Causabon, Michel, Rothe, &c. have exclaimed against these shameful proceedings, so detrimental to the true interests of the Company. Nay, Monsieur Rothe, established in quality of Commandant at Port l'Orient, can bear witness, that Father Lavour, at his landing, had not as yet dared to conceive against Count Lally that supplement of horrid crimes, which he afterwards thought proper to insert in his libel

at Paris, on finding himself supported by the clamours of the public.

The Ministry themselves, when they caused Count Lally to be put under arrest, charged him with nothing but extortion. The commission issued by the King fifteen months after made no distinction between him and the other India men, in the enquiry his Majesty ordered his Parliament to make into the extortions committed in the Indies. Count Lally was not so much as named in it.

He cannot believe, it is impossible any one should, that a libel found amongst the papers of Father Lavour, after the death of that Father, should not only produce an amnesty in favour of all the India men, except Count Lally; but make all the faults and all the crimes, that might have been committed there, fall upon him. The Ministry knew of this libel, when the first commission was issued. The Ministry have had in their hands, these two years past, the charges brought against Count Lally by his enemies. In all that time, they heard of nothing but extortion. The suspicion of high treason was an afterclap, by way of supplement to their former calumnies. This suspicion was mentioned in the second commission. It was alledged against Count Lally as a
motive

motive for refusing him the assistance of council.

The calumnies, with which Count Lally's enemies have charged him in a multiplicity of libels, all tend to persuade the public, that he was the author, not only of the loss of Pondichery, but of the whole Indies. They tend to persuade the public, that the loss of Pondichery has occasioned the decay of the Company's commerce, and the present critical situation of the Company itself. Here are two gross impostures, which Count Lally thinks it incumbent on him to lay open.

Bengal was the most precious, indeed the only lucrative, settlement the Company had in the Indies. This settlement had been lost a year before Count Lally's arrival. The loss of it could not but be followed by that of Pondichery, which, exhausted by a twenty years war, drew from Bengal the greatest part of its subsistence. The Governor and the Council of Pondichery might have prevented the loss of Bengal, the forces the French Company then had in the Indies being twice stronger than those of the English Company. The Council of Pondichery are not so much as questioned about this neglect, though all the memorials of the ministry and the Directors, as well as all their letters to Count Lally, speak

of nothing but the greatness of this loss, and the impossibility of supporting the commerce of the Company in the Indies without Bengal.

The Company reaped no profit from its trade on the Coromandel coast, through the mismanagement of the Council of Pondichery. This appears plainly by all the memorials of the Company. The lands possessed by the factories of Pondichery and Masuli-patnam upon that coast were not sufficient to defray the expences of these factories; and yet it was a common thing with the Company's stewards there to make immense fortunes.

The revenues of the four provinces made over to Monsieur de Buffy, by way of security for the maintenance of 800 men about Salabetsingue's person, were not sufficient for that purpose. Monsieur de Buffy makes a demand on the Company of two millions, advanced by him for the maintenance of that body, to whom there was, notwithstanding, due two millions more, when Monsieur de Buffy threw up the command of it; not to speak of what he made himself by it; for which, however, he was not a whit the tenderer of the Company in calling upon them for what he says he disbursed on their account. The advancing to a Company, by one of their servants, two millions of livres, without taking any security; and two millions more to private persons

removing to places fix thousand leagues from the place this servant is going to reside at, are, surely, phenomena, which suppose, that things of this magnitude, when thus left to mere chance, are not concerns of the first rank in the fortune of such servant. This digression was necessary to expose the grossness of the impostures advanced against Count Lally by his enemies, who, true to their system of recrimination, continue to give out, that he is offering sums of money to every one; and name some persons in particular, who had received money from themselves. Count Lally challenges the Indies and the whole world to prove, that he has so much as the shadow of any fortune, but that of which he has given the Ministers an inventory. He will be the first to condemn himself for every crime laid to his charge, that they can prove against him. Let his enemies but subscribe to the same conditions, and the Company will have soon repaired all its losses.

The loss of Pondichery, which it is the interest of the gentlemen of the old direction, and the Company's stewards, to make the proprietors consider as one and the same thing with the loss of their commerce in the Indies, has contributed nothing towards the present condition of the Company.

The Company owed fifteen millions of livres in the Indies, according to the state of their affairs, which Monsieur de Leyrit put into Count Lally's hands on his arrival there. Their credit there was so bad, that laterally the Dutch refused to lend them 240,000 livres, though the council of Pondichery offered cent. per cent. for it.

The Company sent close upon six millions of livres to the Indies during the whole course of a four years war. The registers of Pondichery, and the depositions of the Company's Treasurers, prove, that the expences of the factory of Pondichery, in time of war, did not fall short of a million of livres a month.

The Council of Pondichery borrowed close upon three millions by issuing bank notes, one half of which, called in and burned by Count Lally's directions, is legally due; but not so the other half. Count Lally refused to allow them. This is a criminal monopoly, which Monsieur de Leyrit has not been afraid to authorise in spite of all Count Lally could do to hinder it. Those, who should now present these bank notes or their value in bills of exchange, must have made in the obtaining of them a profit of 1000 or 1500 per cent.

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The Council of Pondichery received about a million of livres by the different taxes imposed on that settlement. This debt is a just one.

The arrears of pay due to the army may amount to 1.200,000 or 1.500,000 livres, at most.

Thus, the four years war on the coast of Coromandel cost the Company as follows :

Sent to the Indies	- - -	6.000,000 livres
Amount of bank notes unpaid		1.500,000
Borrowed of the colony	-	1.000,000
Arrears due to the army	-	1.500,000
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Total	- - - - -	10.000,000 livres.

Hence it may be easily gathered, that the revenues of the country, the conquests made by Count Lally, and the resources employed by him, must have supplied what this sum falls short of a million a month, during the first twenty months that he kept the English at bay; and that, these resources once exhausted, it was impossible not to yield to an enemy, who was daily receiving succours in men and money from Europe.

The English sent twice as many men, twice as many vessels, and ten times as much money to the Indies, as the French did. The taking of Chandernagor was, alone, worth them seventy-five millions of livres, with which they drove us out of the Indies. The loss of Bengal is not so much as spoken of. Is it because Bengal was lost by a servant of the Company?

The preservation of Pondichery required a reinforcement of men and ships, and, of course, an extraordinary expence. The Council of Pondichery, who now attack Count Lally on the score of this loss, are the self-same Council, who wrote to the Directors before his arrival, that, let them send what men or ships they pleased, Count Lally could hope for no success, if they did not send ten millions of livres along with him. Now it is notorious, that not only one third of the men and ships, destined to act under Count Lally for the defence of the Indies, was kept from him, but that these ten millions of livres, called for by the council of Pondichery, were reduced to two millions, which the Governor of Pondichery made away with, in the first five and twenty days after Count Lally's arrival.

The saving of Pondichery would not have paid the fourteen millions of livres due by the Company in the Indies; and, consequently, would not have restored the Company's credit, which, for ten years past, had been totally ruined. The English restored Pondichery at the conclusion of the peace, and the Company may again begin its trade there. This enemy has taken care to cramp and confine that, which the Company carried on in Bengal, because it was the only trade in India, by which the Company was any gainer.

The loss of Pondichery may, therefore, be reduced to that suffered by the demolition of the fortifications and one hundred and four European houses, which made the whole of this factory. The putting of the fortifications in a better condition, than ever they were in, cannot amount to more than two millions of livres; nor the rebuilding of the European houses to more than one million. Besides, the rebuilding of the European houses is no affair of the Company's, most of these houses having been built with the embezzlements and thefts committed on the Company by the owners of them. The same owners are rich enough to rebuild them.

As to the houses of the Blacks, which were likewise razed, the ground on which they stood formed the principal value of them. The English made no allowance to the Blacks, whose houses Monsieur Dupleix ordered to be destroyed at Madras, and yet they were rebuilt in twelve months.

The whole of what the English found at Pondichery, in artillery, ammunition, or merchandize, was not worth a million of livres. The siege of Madras alone, though the place was not taken, cost the English, by their own confession, above ten millions of livres.

This detail, founded on the most exact truth, is sufficient to destroy the false idea insinuated by those, who appear against Count Lally in the double character of accusers and witnesses, that the loss of Pondichery makes a difference of forty millions of livres to the Company. These witnesses have exaggerated that loss, in proportion to the abatement they make in valuing their own fortunes, and calculating the embezzlements they have been guilty of.

A real misfortune for the Company, in the loss of Pondichery, is its having convinced the Black Princes of the country, that the
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the maritime strength of England is much superior to that of France.

Count Lally will not, in this place, take upon him to lay open the misbehaviour of a Governor and a Council, who could and should have prevented the loss of Bengal; and who, by their negligence to take the necessary precautions for that purpose, and their criminal squandering of the Company's money, accelerated the loss of Pondichery.

He contents himself with proving, that, with land forces equal, or even superior, to those of the enemy, it was impossible to save Pondichery without a squadron, as long as the enemy had one. And he flatters himself, that the public will, at length, open their eyes to the real causes of this loss, which, by way of recrimination, the Council of Pondichery are now endeavouring to lay at his door, after having, previous to it, and in conjunction with all the European inhabitants, and by a solemn act, signified to the Count d'Aché himself, that the loss of Pondichery was entirely owing to the desertion of it by his squadron, and that, too, sixteen months before the place fell into the hands of the English.

The whole question, therefore, may be reduced to this, whether with 3400 Europeans, which the Company had in the Indies under the command of Count Lally, but dispersed over a tract of more than two hundred leagues, Count Lally, without money to pay these Europeans, and without a single boat, could defend a coast of three hundred leagues, against three armies belonging to the English; one from Bengal, which had made a descent in one of the provinces, where Monsieur de Buffy commanded, and from thence marched against Masuli-patnam; another on the coast of Coromandel, to make head against that commanded by Count Lally in person; and both reinforced by a third army drawn from Bombay, and supported, besides, by fourteen ships of the line.

It is an axiom in war, and every officer must know the truth of it, *that with one army it is impossible for a General to make head against two.* Did the Count d'Aché's squadron protect Count Lally's operations? Did Admiral Pococke's protect the operations of the English? The answer to these two questions will be a sufficient refutation of all the lies, which the poisonous tongues of the league formed against Count Lally have dared to propagate against him.

It has, assuredly, been clearly demonstrated, that the Count d'Aché was defeated the first time he came to an anchor on the coast of Coromandel, and that he came to take shelter under the walls of Pondichery.

It has been demonstrated, by letters reported in the course of this trial, that the Count d'Aché did not second Count Lally in the operations he had proposed against Madras, after the taking of Fort St. David.

It has been demonstrated, that the Count d'Aché, on his putting to sea three months after this, was defeated a second time; that he a second time took refuge under the walls of Pondichery, and afterwards abandoned the Indian seas to the English, in order to retreat to the Madagascar Islands.

It has been demonstrated, that he did not appear again, in less than thirteen months, on the coast of Coromandel; that on reaching it he was defeated a third time; and that, after a stay, and that too a forced one, of nine days only in the road of Pondichery, he deserted that place, never to shew himself there again.

It has been made equally evident, that for three years together the English squadron did

did not quit the coast; and that, during the four months of its wintering in the two first of these three years, the Commander of it never forgot to leave some frigates on the coast, to intercept any succours, which might be coming to Pondichery.

It is impossible to have the slightest notion of the situation of the Indian coast, without being convinced, that no European settlement upon it can possibly hold out without the assistance of a squadron. All the memorials of the Company, all the letters of the Ministry, all the resolutions of the several Councils in the Indies, all the instructions given to the Counts Lally and d'Aché, conspire to establish this truth. A few reflections, however, may render it still more striking.

Monfieur de Leyrit, to refute the charge, brought against him by the Council of Chandernagor, of his not having sent them 300 men, which would have been sufficient to save Bengal, alledged in his justification, that he was afraid to weaken the garrison of Pondichery, lest Admiral Watson's squadron, then employed in Bengal itself, at three hundred leagues distance, should, in the mean time, fall upon that place.

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This squadron consisted of two large ships and three frigates. The English had not 300 men at Madras. Monsieur de Leyrit had 1200 regular troops. He had those very invalids, those very servants of the Company, those very inhabitants, with which Count Lally's accusers pretend that Count Lally might have afterwards defeated 4500 English. Monsieur de Leyrit was scared out of his wits by five English ships; and those accusers of Count Lally pretend, that he should not have been frightened at fourteen ships of the line. Monsieur de Leyrit wrote at the same time to the Company, that, all the English forces being in Bengal, he was under no apprehensions for Pondichery. Why, therefore, did he refuse 300 men to preserve Bengal?

The Chevalier de Soupire, a Major-General, arrived in the Indies, eight months before Count Lally, with 1100 men, and found 1000 at Pondichery. The six ships, which came with him, returned to the Madagascar Islands, in consequence of a resolution of the Council of Pondichery, who were under apprehensions of the little English squadron in Bengal coming to attack them. These same apprehensions induced Monsieur de Leyrit, to the great astonishment of the English, to keep the Chevalier de Soupire from attempting any thing against them for eight months together. This the English take notice of in
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the account of the war in the Indies, which they sent to London. In fact, Madras was then open on every side, and had but 300 men to garrison it. Fort St. David was in a ruinous condition, and garrisoned by no more than 60. In a word, the English could not bring above 200 men into the field, and the Chevalier de Soupire had 2000. These are notorious and well-proved facts, and yet no attention is paid them : they are not so much as thought of.

The very day Count Lally landed at Pondichery, he marched against Cudaloor and Fort St. David, with fewer troops than the Chevalier de Soupire had. Besides, Fort St. David, instead of 60 Europeans, had now 700, besides 2000 sepoys or Black soldiers, to defend it ; and the fortifications of it had been repaired ; notwithstanding which, Count Lally, in spite of the Count d'Aché's defeat, continued the attack, and took it.

Monsieur de Leyrit and part of the inhabitants of Pondichery began already to exclaim loudly against Count Lally's attempt upon Fort St. David. They treated it as rashness, considering that the squadron of the Count d'Aché had been obliged to bury itself under the walls of Pondichery, and could not assist Count Lally in the siege ; whereas the English
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squadron, eight days after the engagement, put to sea again. It had been already decided in the trading council of Pondichery, that a General and King's Commissary should be to blame, though he should meet with success. Accordingly, Monsieur de Leyrit lost no time in stopping Count Lally's progress, by declaring to him in less than a month after his arrival, that he had not wherewith to pay his army, or even subsist it.

The very day Count Lally saw himself rid of the English squadron, by its going to winter at Bombay, he took the field again; drove the English even into Madras; and with 2700 European soldiers undertook the siege of that place, defended by 1600 regular troops, 400 of the Company's servants, inhabitants or invalids, and 3000 Black soldiers who, though deemed of no account in the field, are equal to Europeans behind a wall. It must be allowed, that Monsieur de Vauban, in treating of the attack of places, never calculated that proportion, in which every man of the besieged is deemed equal to five of the besiegers. In this case, the besieged were almost double the besiegers; and yet Count Lally would, perhaps, have taken Madras, since he succeeded so far as to open it, were it not for the arrival of a reinforcement to it of six ships and 600 men; and

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did he not apprehend, lest these fix ships should, in twelve hours, as very well they might, bear down upon Pondichery, then without a single foldier to oppose an esca-
lade, by which 300 men might have carried it.

Nevertheless, the not taking of Madras has been imputed as a crime to Count Lally by the very same council, which never thought of imputing as a crime to Monsieur Dupleix his having miscarried thrice before Cudaloor, twice before Arcot, twice before Tritchanopoly, besides having had two whole armies successively made prisoners before it. But he was a servant of the Company's; and, as Monsieur Godeheu says in his letter of the 25th of November 1743 to Monsieur Dupleix; *I don't know how you will have treated the Son of one of us? The Father is a Director; that is saying enough.*

Count Lally, when he raised the siege of Madras, had 2200 men under arms, whom he left to the command of the Chevalier de Soupire. The English, in consequence of the reinforcement they had received, were nearly as strong. In less than six weeks after the raising of the siege, the vanguard of their squadron made its appearance on the coast. Upon this, they took the field; marched
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against the Chevalier de Soupire, who lay encamped under the walls of Conjeveram on the left banks of the *Palar*; drove him from his post; made him abandon all the country on these banks belonging to the district of Arcot, which Count Lally had conquered the year before; and even cross the river. It is not to be presumed, that the Chevalier de Soupire, as strong in Europeans as the enemy, would have avoided a battle, did he not fear, lest the six ships arrived at Madras, joined to Admiral Pococke's squadron, should cut off his return to Pondichery.

In this position, what could Count Lally do? What should he have done? His first step was to return to the post, which the Chevalier de Soupire had abandoned. But it was now too late. The enemy had fortified it. The terror of their arms had even reached Pondichery. The inhabitants made it a crime in Count Lally to undertake this expedition, and leave Pondichery twenty leagues behind him, exposed to the insults of the English squadron. Had Count Lally sent a detachment to quiet the minds of the inhabitants of Pondichery, he would have weakened himself, and exposed himself to the danger of being defeated by the enemy. Therefore, the wisest thing he could do was, to observe the motions of the English, and take

post between them and Pondichery, in order to be near enough to save that place by a forced march of four and twenty hours, in case their squadron should make any attempt in his rear ; and thereby gain time for the arrival of the Count d'Aché's squadron.

Count Lally might spare himself the trouble of giving, in this place, a detail of the numberless forced positions, to which the continual dread he was under from a squadron at his back obliged him. He might add, that, at this very juncture, his army was without pay. But he has undertaken to prove, that, though his army had been superior to that of the English, as, indeed, it was not, the advantages derived by the English army from the assistance of the English squadron were too great to be calculated.

The three factories belonging to the French Company on the coast of Coromandel are Masuli-patnam, Pondichery, and Karical. These three factories occupied one hundred and thirty leagues of the coast, intersected by the possessions of the English, the Danes, the Dutch, and the Princes of the country.

Let any military man judge, what disposition can be made with only 2200 men to defend

defend a coast of one hundred and thirty leagues, against a squadron of fourteen ships of the line, even if these 2200 men had no army to make head against. Let him judge, how, with 2200 men, it is possible to hinder such a squadron from making a descent at one or the other of the extremities of such an extent; and, at the same time, defend twenty-three places or forts up the country; a country from which, it is well known, no revenue or subsistence can be drawn without an armed force? No doubt, a few Europeans, with a great many Blacks, are sufficient to defend these posts; but the Blacks don't serve without pay; and Monsieur de Leyrit did not give them any.

Should Count Lally have sent a detachment to the assistance of Masuli-patnam, attacked by the English army from Bengal? In that case, the English squadron would have remained before Pondichery; the English army would have attacked that of Count Lally weakened by the detachment sent to Masuli-patnam, and the reinforcement thrown into Pondichery. Count Lally, therefore, would have no longer been able to keep the field in the presence of this army. It was, therefore, necessary, that he should employ his whole strength in the defence of Pondichery, though, by so doing, he left the English masters of the open country.

But the English squadron, then finding Pondichery too strong for it, would have made for Karical our southernmost factory, thirty leagues from Pondichery, as it, in fact, afterwards did. Had there been a necessity for sending part of the garrison of Pondichery, to reinforce that of Karical, the English squadron would have returned to Pondichery, already straitened by the English army; and, consequently, have made it necessary to recall the detachment sent to Karical, in order to reinforce Pondichery, and the army which protected it. But, in that case, the English squadron might have returned to Karical in twenty-four hours. It is asked, if an army can keep up with a squadron? and if it is not absurd to suppose, that a coast of one hundred and thirty leagues may be defended without a squadron. Accordingly, the English squadron, having met with no opposition, seized successively all the establishments we had on that coast to the right and left of Pondichery.

As soon as this squadron had mastered the whole coast, it came to an anchor in the road of Pondichery, to the amount of fourteen ships of the line and three frigates, whose crews made very near 7000 Europeans. The English army, 4000 Europeans and 4000 Blacks strong, appeared, at the same time, four leagues from Pondichery,

in order to form the blockade of it. Count Lally had but 1350 Europeans, and 600 Blacks to oppose to them. Some of the witnesses against Count Lally have been mad enough to swear, that he might have gathered together in Pondichery 3000 Europeans, as well regular troops, as invalids, Company's servants, valets, and other inhabitants, &c. and that with this fine host he might have engaged and beat the 4000 English, who besieged it. But, besides that this number is exaggerated by one third, what could have hindered the English squadron from landing, in the mean time, men enough to master Pondichery, stripped of all its Europeans? A body of 300 men would have been sufficient for that purpose. And if these 4000 Englishmen had beat, as one may easily suppose they would, the ban and arriere-ban of Pondichery, what would become of the place itself in four and twenty hours?

The account taken by the English of the Europeans made prisoners of war in Pondichery makes them amount to 2060, including, along with the regular troops, the invalids, sailors, Company's servants, friars, valets, workmen, and other inhabitants, with their wives and children. It is now asked, what became of the 3000 fighting men, with which it has been impudently deposed that Count Lally might have beat the English?

It is asked, what is the world to think of Monsieur de Leyrit, who, in a printed petition presented to the council of Madras, is not afraid to tell an enemy, that *he allows they have reason to be offended with Count Lally's treatment of the inhabitants of Fort St. David; but that they must at the same time allow, that Count Lally has sufficiently repaired that injury, by inviting the English to come and take possession of Pondichery, with more men to defend it, than the English had to attack it?* Such enormities would not be credited, were they not upon record in a public act. It was, however, a friar, it was Father Lavour who drew up this act. This Jesuit was the most holy man in all the Indies, and Monsieur de Leyrit passed for the honestest.

Here, therefore, Count Lally proves from the musters of the Commissary, that he had but 700 regular troops to defend Pondichery against an army of 4500 English, and an English squadron of fourteen ships of the line, containing 7000 English more and 10,000 Blacks. Now, if 2700 Europeans should have taken 5000 men in Madras, a place open to the sea, 11,500 English could not, certainly, but take 700 men in Pondichery blocked up by sea as well as by land.

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Count Lally hopes he will be allowed to have proved, that it is impossible for an army to keep up with a squadron; and that, of course, a squadron must have time to possess itself, one by one, of all the places on a coast, before an army can come to their assistance by land; in a word, that an army, by attempting to watch the motions of a squadron within a stretch of thirty leagues only, would, in a month's time, be so worn down, as not to be able to fire a single musket,

All Count Lally has now to do, is to answer two conjectures, which his accusers have ventured to throw out against him. The first is, that, had he taken Madras (as, according to them, he might have done) Pondichery had never been attacked. The second is, that, had he not lost the battle of Vandiwash (which, according to them, he should not have risked) Pondichery had never been taken.

It has been proved, that, for want of a squadron, the most the taking of Madras, and even the gaining of the battle of Vandiwash, could do, was to retard the loss of Pondichery for six or twelve months. It is even to be remarked, that, from the very day the English took possession of Pondichery, they had two years and a half before them to reduce it by famine,

famine, since the account of a peace being concluded did not reach the Indies till the expiration of that term.

In this supposition, how would it have been possible for Count Lally, deprived of all kind of communication with Europe and the inland country, to subsist Pondichery for these two years? How could he have paid his troops, who had already gone twelve months without pay? The English squadron alone would have been sufficient to take Pondichery without the assistance of an army. A body of 500 Black horsemen would have been sufficient to starve it out by ravaging its corn grounds; and the usual mortality among troops sent to India, joined to the desertion with which the want of pay would infallibly be attended, would in less than a year reduce the troops to nothing.

Monſieur de Buſſy's army, which originally consisted of no more than 800 men, lost 600 in the twelve months immediately preceding the arrival of Count Lally in the Indies. Of the 1800 men, which, two years before, Monsieur Godeheu had brought with him to the Indies, there remained but 500 fit for service, when Count Lally landed at Pondichery. Yet the coast of Coromandel had been in perfect peace since the arrival of Monsieur Godeheu.

Godeheu. There is no obtaining without lives any success in war. Count Lally was in the case of losing the Indies by successes as well as by defeats, the moment he saw himself deprived of a squadron, and of all manner of succours from Europe.

Count Lally, had he taken Madras, would have found nothing in it. All the merchandise in it had been destroyed by his bombs, which set the place on fire no less than nine times. Madras was open to the sea, and consequently no money would have been found in it. It is allowed, that all the Paleagars or petty Black Princes of the neighbourhood would have sent him presents, to the amount, perhaps, of one hundred thousand crowns; but, after all, it is far from being certain, that all these presents would have reached him. It is allowed, that, for the time to come, they would have paid the Company the tribute they owed the possessor of Arcot; but all these sums put together would not have exceeded 800,000 livres; and it would have cost as much to pay the detachments necessary to levy them. There was already as much, or more, due to the troops, and not a penny in the treasury to pay them. The expence of the army already amounted to near a million of livres a month. Besides, Madras could only be taken by storm, since it had an
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inner wall, which gave the besieged time to capitulate; and the storming of it would have weakened Count Lally's army.

But, supposing Count Lally to have taken Madras, how would he have disposed, without a squadron, of 2000 English prisoners, whom he had orders to send to the Island of Bourbon? What would he have done without money to subsist them? It will appear by the extracts from Monsieur de Leyrit's letters, that Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, having requested him to advance a month's pay to 700 men, whom Count Lally had taken at Fort St. David, Monsieur de Leyrit made answer, that he could not possibly comply with his request. Now, this letter is dated the 1st of July, two months after Count Lally's arrival in the Indies. Count Lally, therefore, would have found himself under a necessity, for want of money and ships, to send back these prisoners, or employ half his army merely to keep guard upon them.

Supposing Count Lally to have taken Madras, he would, according to his orders, have set about demolishing it. Now, in the first place, there did not remain in Pondichery above fifteen tons of powder for its own defence. 2dly, The appearance of an English squadron, six weeks after he had taken,

taken it, would have interrupted the work. Count Lally would not have dared to continue it; but, rather, would have found himself under a necessity of preserving the place to prevent its falling into the hands of the English squadron. In this last case, he could not leave fewer than between eight and nine hundred men, that is to say about half his army, to garrison it. Of what service would the other half have been to him? It would scarce have been sufficient to defend Pondichery against the English squadron.

The demolition of a place is a work of time; and, supposing Count Lally had the time, the money, and the powder, necessary for the demolition of Madras, which he really had not, it would have signified nothing, since, for want of ships, he could not remove the troops and the inhabitants; and, consequently, the English squadron, had it appeared even within two months after he had taken the place, would have retaken it though demolished; and it would have still subsisted as an English factory, for want of a French squadron to hinder the English from approaching it.

The taking of Madras, the preservation or demolition of it, would not have hindered the English squadron from beating that of
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the Count d'Aché, as soon as it appeared on the coast, and making him fly it in four and twenty hours, as in fact he did.

Let it not be said, that, Madras once taken, the English squadron would have abandoned the coast, for want of a settlement to have recourse to as a place of arms on any sudden emergency. The whole coast of Coromandel is but one continued road, without a single port. A squadron commanding the Coromandel sea may come to an anchor, and victual, in any part of it the Commander thinks proper. The English Admiral, by paying ready money, abounded with provisions during his three years stay on this coast; whereas we, for want of money, could get none even in our own possessions, though, then, ten times more extensive than those of the English, since we were masters of all the coast from the suburbs of Madras to Karical. Count d'Aché could scarce hold out on it four months. If, for want of a squadron and money, we could no longer defend our own possessions, how could it be expected we should preserve our conquests?

Monfieur de Buffy, master, in the Decan, of the revenues of four large provinces and of a fresh country, could not, for want of money, keep up his little army, and prevent de-

desertion. After advancing them two millions of livres out of his own savings, he still owed them two more; and, therefore, never ceased writing to Count Lally, that he was under perpetual apprehensions of being assassinated, earnestly requesting the Count to recall him, and remove (they are his own words) that cup from him. Monsieur de Buffly, therefore, could not, for want of money and a squadron, hinder the descent made by the English in one of these four provinces. Now, if an inability of this kind is to be admitted in favour of Monsieur de Buffly, why not still more in favour of Count Lally, who had a much more numerous army to support, and oppose to an army, as well as to a squadron, in an exhausted country? If it should be said, that, in spite of all these obstacles, Count Lally, with his army which was not paid, should have beat the English army and the English squadron, even without the assistance of the Count d'Aché's squadron, it would be a crying injustice not to censure, at the same time, Monsieur de Buffly, who, with an army that had no English by land or sea to deal with, could not, out of the revenues of his own possessions, maintain that army, though it was small, and yet had nothing to do but march peaceably along the high road, in order to conquer all the Blacks to the right and left. But it is notorious, that Monsieur de Buffly did not neglect

glect to do so the year before Count Lally's arrival in the Indies; and it is equally notorious, that he did not pay, after a progress which produced twenty millions of livres, the arrears due to his little army; and that his demand on the Company of two millions of livres has not as yet been disallowed.

Whatever respect between thirty and forty millions of livres may inspire for the person of the man, who possesses them, Count Lally has not the less reason to maintain, that it would have been much more advantageous for the stock-holders, that this sum had been brought into the Company's coffers, or employed, in part, to facilitate the success of the Company's operations.

It is, therefore, plain, that there is no succeeding on a sea coast without a squadron. The council of Pondichery, as it appeared by the trial of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, had then solemnly resolved, that it was impossible so much as to undertake the siege of Madras, though, at that time, but an open village, till Mr. Peyton's squadron, consisting of one vessel of the line and three frigates only, was entirely driven from off the coast. This Mr. Peyton was, in fact, driven from off it by Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, who afterwards made himself master of Madras without the loss of a single man;

men ; and Mr. Peyton incurred the displeasure of his master by not sacrificing this his little squadron to the safety of Madras. These are facts attested in all the accounts hitherto published of the war in the Indies.

If Count Lally, it is said, had not attacked the English at Vandiwash, or if he had defeated them there, Pondichery had not been taken. The assertion is false ; and a lie, into the bargain.

1st. It was the infernal intrigues of two friars, devoted to Monsieur de Buffy, which made it necessary for Count Lally to fight that battle, as may be seen at length in his *Faëum*.

2dly. Though it would have been no easy matter to beat an enemy twice as strong, it would have been extremely mortifying to fly before him under the walls of Pondichery, where Count Lally could not possibly subsist his army. The loss of a battle could not have been attended with any worse consequence ; and this consideration, alone, made it necessary to risk a battle. After all, though Count Lally had gained the battle, and pursued the enemy under the walls of Madras, in less than a month he would himself have been obliged to fall back on Pondichery. This battle was fought

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the 20th of January 1760; and Admiral Cornish's squadron came to an anchor in the road of Madras the 28th of February following. But Count Lally had not, even then, wherewith to pay his Black troops for that month. He could not, therefore, have kept the field against an enemy, which had a great number of them, and paid them well. He could not venture himself far into the enemy's country, and leave Pondichery thirty leagues behind him, exposed to the English squadron, which might have carried it in one night. A man must be wilfully blind not to see, that it is impossible for one army to make head against two; that it is impossible for a General, who has but 1500 men, with an army before him and another behind him, one of 4000, the other of 7000 men, to be master of his operations, and oppose every attempt made by two such armies combined against him.

Three months and a half before this, Count Lally had gained a battle at this very Vandiwash; but the sudden and unforeseen departure of the Count d'Aché's squadron, the very day of his receiving the account of this victory, prevented Count Lally's reaping the slightest advantage from it. The Black Princes, seeing the English masters of the sea, concluded from thence, as it was very natural they should, that the Count d'Aché had

had been defeated. They knew too well the importance of a sea victory to put it in the same scale with any little advantage obtained by an army, the fruits of which might be every moment blasted by a victorious squadron. And, accordingly, the Black Princes took part with the English against Count Lally.

Nay, this departure of the Count d'Aché occasioned, fifteen days after, a general mutiny in Count Lally's army, which thereby saw itself abandoned, and deprived of all hopes of ever returning to Europe. These are the very words used by the mutineers in assigning their motives for mutinying. The facts are proved by the letters, the verbal processes, the protests, &c. of the whole settlement of Pondichery.

Count Lally had before gained nine victories; he had taken ten places. But how was it possible for him to preserve places on the coast, and up the country, when obliged by a squadron belonging to the English to fly to the assistance of the capital settlement. How can an army, whose very successes are sufficient to exhaust it, be maintained, at six thousand leagues from every kind of resource, during and after a three years war, in which not a single man had a single day's respite, without

a squadron to bring it recruits and other necessities, which Europe alone can furnish? A man must be mad not to allow it impossible, especially after the instances of it furnished by our other possessions in Africa and America, though, in a manner, contiguous to our own continent.

Ships alone, therefore, can decide and realize the advantages and disadvantages of all the military operations carried on by land in the East Indies.

But where is the necessity for having recourse to all these proofs, while the opinion of Count d'Aché himself in writing is to the fore? When the Council of Pondichery proposed to him to keep the sea, he alledged as a reason for refusing to comply, *that Pondichery would be lost in case his squadron met with any misfortune*. It must be allowed, that, with regard to Pondichery, it was the same thing, whether his squadron met with any misfortune, or totally abandoned that settlement.

When the Council of Pondichery opposed the departure of the French squadron for the Madagascar Islands, this same Admiral made answer, that, *as the safety of Pondichery depended entirely on his squadron*, it was indispensably requisite he should sail for these Islands, to be
the

the sooner able to refit, and return to the coast the year following.

Count Lally does not hereby pretend to censure the Count d'Aché for not returning to the coast. It does not belong to his profession to do so. He even thinks it beneath him to take any notice of the reflections, which this Commodore, raised to the degree of a Lieutenant General, has taken the liberty to make in his deposition, and which were foreign both to his profession and the business in hand; such as saying, *that Count Lally had nothing in view but the destruction of his squadron, by constantly insisting on his fighting.* Count Lally was always at blows with the English; why should he not insist that the Count de Aché should share them, if the good of the service required it. After all, two things are sufficient to exculpate Count Lally; one, its being proved, that the Count d'Aché gave him no assistance; the other, the concession made by the Count d'Aché himself, that the fate of Pondichery depended on his assistance.

It was Admiral Watson, who took Chandernagor and Bengal. It was with him Chandernagor capitulated, though, at the same time, besieged by an army. England has acknowledged herself indebted to Admiral Pococke for the conquest of Pondi-

chery, and rewarded him as the conqueror, though he left the Indies before his countrymen got possession of that place. But he had obliged the Count d'Aché to quit the coast. Colonel Coote, who commanded the land forces, was but a subordinate instrument in the hands of Admiral Stevens, who succeeded Admiral Pococke. And, though Colonel Coote conducted his operations by land with great courage and skill, Admiral Stevens was so thoroughly convinced, that the conquest of Pondichery was entirely owing to his squadron, that he wrote Count Lally a very smart letter on the occasion, in consequence of his having surrendered the place to the commander of the land forces. It may even be added, that Colonel Coote obtained no reward from his court for the taking of Pondichery.

Count Lally suppresses, in this place, an infinite number of other circumstances in support of what he advances. They would furnish matter for a *Factum*, but he is a stranger to the method of making one. He is not so much as allowed the means of giving his council such information, as would enable them to compose one, that would infallibly open the eyes of the public to the infamous and criminal cabal, which has, for four years past, been at work to ruin his character.

Count

Count Lally thinks it incumbent on him to refute the charge of embezzlement, brought against him by his enemies before the Ministry and the public. These same enemies, called upon to give evidence against him, (the first instance of such a proceeding since the foundation of the French monarchy) have not, however, dared to depose any thing against him upon that head. Count Lally has even obliged them, when confronted with him, to acquit him solemnly thereof. It is true, that Messieurs la Selle and Moracin, members of the Council of Pondichery, have dared, and they alone, to advance, *that Count Lally had the handling of the Company's money.* Monsieur la Selle, indeed, had modesty enough to recant at his confrontation, by saying, *that it was true Count Lally had not the material handling of the Company's money; but, as the Count was at the head of affairs, it was the same thing as if he had.* Count Lally desired him to produce any one of his orders relating to the Company's revenues; and no such order has been as yet produced. The treasurers even depose, that they never received any such orders from Count Lally. Monsieur la Selle is, nevertheless, one of the managers of the trial, and of the witnesses who have deposed against Count Lally. Not a single member of the Council would consent to act in concert with this Monsieur la

Selle. Monsieur de Leyrit used to write to Count Lally, that he was a knave, and that he would do well to be upon his guard against him. The Directors themselves had given pretty much the same account of him. Behold the honest man now confronted with Count Lally !

Monsieur Moracin, against whom Count Lally has brought charges equally grievous and well grounded, has dared to depose, that he had put into Count Lally's hands a sum of 250,000 livres. Count Lally, on being confronted with him, challenged him to produce his receipt. Monsieur Moracin replied, by way of proof, *that he had given into the treasury a bill of exchange for 250,000 livres, and that he had a receipt for it from Monsieur de Leyrit and the Council, who likewise gave him credit for it.* This Monsieur Moracin is, nevertheless, the man, who has been the principal manager of all the proceedings against Count Lally. It is he, who summoned the witnesses; who instructed some of them; who, at last, became a witness himself. Hence the world may easily form some judgment of his testimony.

It is thus Count Lally has been represented to the public, and accused before the magistrates, as guilty of extortion. Behold the two strongest proofs of it alledged by the witnesses
against

against him. Count Lally, notwithstanding, was put under arrest for extortion; and is now charged with having been a bad General, and having lost the Indies by his military misconduct; from whence it is inferred, that he had, *no doubt*, an understanding with the English in his military operations against them.

These, it must be allowed, are strange proofs against a Lieutenant General of the King's armies, detained for three years and a half in the most horrid confinement; deprived of council; and as yet refused the means of making his judges and the public acquainted with the true causes of the loss of the Indies, of which these notes are no more than outlines.

The letter written by the Council of Pondichery to the Count d'Aché will, in some measure, compensate for Count Lally's not being able to lay open all the necessary causes of the loss of Pondichery. By this piece the public may form some judgment of the impostures employed to surprise its credulity, and to create the most unjust and odious prejudices against him. It is as follows:

REPRESENTATION MADE TO MONSIEUR
LE COMTE D'ACHE BY THE GENTLE-
TLEMEN OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF
PONDICHERY, IN THE NAME OF A
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE WHOLE NA-
TION, THE 17th OF SEPTEMBER, 1759.

The intention of his Majesty, in sending his ships to the Indies, was not to make a parade of them; but to succour the settlements of the French Company there, and his subjects of which these settlements are composed.

This object becomes still more pressing, since nothing less is now the question than to save the settlements of the Company, and, of course, the Company itself, from certain ruin, and all the French subjects in the Indies from the loss of their liberty and their fortunes.

This so interesting an object may be fulfilled two ways, both which the nation here propose to Monsieur le Comte d'Aché, but without pretending to determine his choice.

The first is, to take advantage of the bad condition, to which, it is known for certain, that the English squadron is reduced, to crush it entirely. Of this bad condition of the English squadron a true and satisfactory account has been received from Karical and Nega-patnam. The
success

success of this first method WOULD NOT ONLY BE ATTENDED WITH SECURITY TO US, but with a superiority, from which we might derive many other advantages. Besides, it would defeat all the expensive efforts, which the English have already made, or may hereafter make, to augment their marine on this coast. If what there still exists of it was once destroyed, what might afterwards arrive would be destroyed with still greater ease. This, too, would at the same time prove *a heavy blow to their forces ashore, by depriving them of the reinforcements they likewise expect.*

THIS FIRST METHOD IS THE ONLY ONE SUFFICIENT TO RESTORE OUR AFFAIRS.

The second, which we are now going to propose, can only contribute to prevent the entire ruin of them. It is quite simple and easy; free from danger; and, to think only of the good of the squadron itself, indisputably calculated to answer that end. It is, *that the French squadron should not quit the coast, till the English squadron is equally obliged to quit it.* Otherwise, in the first place, THE DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH SQUADRON, THE HOPES OF WHOSE ASSISTANCE ALONE HAVE BEEN

SO

SO LONG THE SUPPORT OF OUR AFFAIRS, will be taken for granted, and even reach Delhi. It has been already represented to the Count d'Aché, that five and twenty thousand Blacks hold themselves in readiness to declare for THE NATION WHOSE SQUADRON SHALL BEAT THAT OF THE OTHER. 2dly Besides, the confusion, with which the French must be infallibly covered, and the LASTING IDEA, that will thence be conceived of their weakness, they must give up all thoughts of *expecting any friendship in the natives, or obtaining any presents from them, now or hereafter.* 3dly. *All the negociations entered into for our security or advantage must miscarry, and turn to our disadvantage.* 4thly. The English, by availing themselves of these advantages which we gratuitously bestow on them, will be enabled to attempt, and with new assurance of success, the execution of THEIR PROJECT TO BESIEGE US, WHICH THE DELAY OF OUR SQUADRON ALONE HAD ALREADY MADE THEM FORM *. 5thly. *Their first step will be to reduce all the*

* The Council, therefore, expected, so early as the 17th of September, to see the place besieged. Can any thing be more positive than every word of this letter? How, after producing such a piece, could Count Lally's enemies have the face to commence a prosecution against him, upon any thing relative to the loss of Pondichery?

country now in our possession, from whence we draw our subsistence. What will then avail the troops penned up in Pondichery, though that place should be better supplied with ammunition and provisions than it is at present? And allowing, it should be able to hold out for some months, from what quarter, after all, is it to expect relief? The whole country will join against us, and we shall be blocked up on the sea side. Can the Admiral, who is going to abandon us, take upon him to say that he will be able to GIVE US TIMELY RELIEF, THOUGH HE SHOULD RETURN BEFORE WE WERE ENTIRELY LOST? Will he dare to oppose our ruin? Will he expose himself to new difficulties and greater dangers to do that, which he is now unwilling to perform with less risk?

We hope that this state of our case will convince the Count d'Aché, that THE ABANDONING OF US IN OUR PRESENT SITUATION IS THE SAME THING AS THE DEVOTING OF US TO CERTAIN DESTRUCTION. We must beg leave to tell him, that, in this case, WERE HE TO SACRIFICE ALL HIS SHIPS, IT WOULD BE NO MORE THAN ANSWERING THE END OF HIS ERRAND, and entitling himself to praise and reward. Commodore Peyton. on a similar occasion, incurred the dis-

displeasure of his country by not sacrificing his Squadron to the safety of Madras. In the war before this, Monsieur the Chevalier de Kfaim had himself received orders from Court to run his ships aground, if the safety of Pondichery required it.

But there is no necessity for Monsieur le Comte d'Aché's going such lengths. What we propose to him, is altogether for the advantage of his Squadron. In the first place, by deferring for fifteen days his departure for the Madagascar Islands, supposing him bound for these Islands, he will give new life to the town of Pondichery, who, were he to leave us immediately, will conclude, that his departure is owing to his having been defeated by the English. 2dly. His sick and wounded will have time to recover. 3dly. He will be able to judge for himself, what resolution the English will take, WHICH, CERTAINLY, WILL NOT BE THAT OF COMING TO ATTACK HIM. 4thly. He will thereby save what soldiers and sailors we have to the north. *If the English are left masters of the Coromandel seas, they need only send two of their vessels to Ganjam, to carry off the ship we have there, Monsieur de Moracin, Monsieur le Chevalier de Pouët, with the officers and all their men; and they will not fail to do it: and from that day we*
must

must throw up all hopes of being ever able to set foot in the north again.

5thly. In fine, we think it our duty to represent to Monsieur le Comte d'Aché, that his going to winter in the Madagascar Islands will be attended with more danger to his squadron, *than even a second engagement.* His crews must either perish at these Islands, or be driven from them by famine. The letters from thence import, that the return of the squadron must prove the ruin of them. Will the squadron be able to find new resources at the Cape of Good Hope? Nothing can be more uncertain. Are not the means of assisting them already exhausted there? *Is the Count d'Aché for carrying, himself, to these colonies,* A GREAT PART OF THOSE MISFORTUNES, TO WHICH HE CONDEMNNS THAT OF THE INDIES BY ABANDONING IT.

The best thing, therefore, he can do for his own as well as our interest is to go, in the beginning of October, and pass a month or six weeks on the East coast, *that he may be back again on this by the beginning of January.* He will, even, hereby deprive the English of the benefit of wintering on that coast; and oblige them, perhaps, to make for
Bombay.

Bombay. In the meantime, expresses shall be directly sent to the Madagascar Islands, to hasten such succours as it may be thought proper to get from them, so as to give these succours an opportunity of reaching this coast before the English. The Count d'Aché's wintering on the East coast may even afford him an opportunity of taking some rich ships coming from China or elsewhere. His wintering in the Ganges would be still more advantageous in every respect. This may be thought of, in case the English squadron should determine to winter at Bombay. *It might be thought of still better, could the Count d'Aché have the good fortune to beat the English. To do this, does he want to have his hands strengthened? We offer him all the assistance he can wish for.* Is he prevented by the wounds he has already received for his country? Let him make us a sacrifice, which will, it is true, cost him more than that of his blood. But then, what may we not expect from his generosity? **LET HIM GIVE LEAVE TO SOMEBODY ELSE** to make an attempt, *which will not bear being any longer postponed*, while we employ ashore our whole care to re-establish that health, which is so dear to us.

Let him not fear, lest his ships should come to want masts so much, as not to be able
to

to go to winter quarters. We take upon ourselves to supply him directly with every thing he may want to refit them.

As to any other more mortifying event, WE TAKE UPON OURSELVES ALL THE BLAME AND OTHER ILL CONSEQUENCES THAT MAY ATTEND IT. Though he himself were to be responsible for them, has he not more to fear, as well in regard to the certitude as the importance of the object, by abandoning Pondichery, the Company, the whole settlement, to the discretion of the English? Would he not in doing it run quite counter to the intentions of our masters, and the real end of his errand? We hope, that, far from coming to such a resolution WHICH NO CONSIDERATION CAN JUSTIFY, he will yield to the representations, prayers, protestations, in fine, every means that can possibly be thought of to make an impression upon him by a settlement, of which he is himself an illustrious member, and whose safety he has in his own hands.

Done in the Chamber of the superior Council of Pondichery, the 17th of September, 1759. Signed, LALLY, DUVAL DE LEYRIT, RENAULT, GUILLARD, BOYELLEAU, LENOIR, DE LARCHE, DESVAUX, GEULLETTE, DE LASELLE, &c.

PROTEST MADE BY THE NATION ASSEMBLED IN THE HALL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PONDICHERY; SIGNIFIED TO MONSIEUR D'ACHE' THE 17th OF SEPTEMBER, 1759.

Monfieur de Leyrit, Governor of the French fettlements in the Indies, and Prefident of the Council of Pondichery *, as well as all the members thereof who were deputed to you, having employed to no purpofe all the methods they could think of to make you defer your departure for fome days, in order to re-affure the Blacks of the country ready to declare againft us; and confidering the general confternation that has feized the town of Pondichery; it has been refolved to afsemble a national Council, WHICH HAS

UNA-

* Though Monfieur de Leyrit fpeaks here as Chief, Count Lally was actually in Pondichery, fo that Monfieur de Leyrit could not be Prefident of the Council; and ftill lefs, Commander of the French fettlements. The Council, therefore, fhould have fspoken in the name of Count Lally, and not in that of Monfieur de Leyrit. But Count Lally chofe to wave his right of precedence, to think of nothing but the fafety of the Indies, which was ever the fole object of his attention.

UNANIMOUSLY PROTESTED AGAINST YOUR PRECIPITATE DEPARTURE, DECLARING YOU ALONE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LOSS OF THIS SETTLEMENT. IT HAS LIKEWISE BEEN RÉSOLVED TO COMPLAIN OF YOUR ABANDONING IT TO THE KING, AND THE MINISTRY, IN ORDER TO OBTAIN JUSTICE AGAINST YOU, the Company having had no other view, in applying to his Majesty for ships, than to save its settlements at the risk of these very ships. And, in case it is not too late, a copy of this declaration shall be delivered to every Captain of the Count d'Aché's squadron.

Done in the Council Hall of Fort Louis at Pondichery, the seventeenth of September, 1759, *Signed*, LALLY, DUVAL DE LEYRIT, RENAUT, BARTHELEMY, Chevalier DE SOUPIRE, MICHEL LALLY, BUSSY, DUBOIS, CARRIERE, VERDIÈRES, DURE, GADDEVILLE, DUPASSAGE, BEAUSSET, RENAUT. DE LASELLE, GUILLART, PORCHER, DESVAUX, Father DOMINICK, Capuchin, Parish Priest of the Parish of Notre Dame des Anges, F. S. LAVAUR, Superior General of the French Jesuits in the

Indies, L. MATHON, Superior General of the foreign Missions, POTIER DE LORME, DUCHATEL, AUDOUART, AIMAR, COMBAUT D'AUTHEUIL, GOUPIL, KEISSER, J. G. BON, DE WILST, BARNAL, RAULY, TERMELIER, SAINT-PAUL, J. B. LAUNAY, DESHAYES, FISCHER, DULAURENT, AUDOYER DU PETIT-VAL, DARCY, MADIN, DIORE', BERTRAND, LEGRIS, MIRAN, BOURVILLE, F. NICOLAS, DUPLANDE-LAVAL, BORE'E, DE LARCHE, BOYELLEAU, and GEULETTE.



COPIES OF SEVERAL LETTERS WRITTEN BY THE COUNT D'ACHE' TO COUNT LALLY, AND ONE TO MONSIEUR DE LEYRIT, WITH REMARKS ON EVERY LETTER, CONFIRMING THE CHARGE, BROUGHT BY THE GENERAL AGAINST THE ADMIRAL, OF HIS REFUSING TO SAIL FOR MADRAS AFTER THE TAKING OF FORT St. DAVID.

It will scarce be credited, that the Count d'Aché who wrote the following letters, and who, on Count Lally's arrival at Versailles, brought upon himself the eyes of a whole gal-

gal'ery, by running up to embrace him, and crying out: *Welcome, my dear General; be in no pain about the lies a knot of knaves have propagated against you; have they not said as bad things of myself?* should be the same Count d'Aché, who, at his interrogatory, declared;

First. That Count Lally was, in part, the cause of his losing the battle he fought, when he first arrived on the coast.

2dly. That Count Lally rejected the proposal, which he (the Count d'Aché) made him of failing to attack Madras immediately after the taking of Fort St. David.

3dly. That Count Lally had nothing in view but the destruction of his squadron.

4thly, In fine. That it was on receiving the news of the miscarriage of the expedition against Tanjore he resolved to risk a second battle; and that, of course, Count Lally was, in part, the cause of his second defeat.

The observations added to every one of his letters will throw some light on these four assertions, which, though destitute of all manner of proof, the Count d'Aché has thought proper to hazard in his justification,

at the expence of truth, and that delicacy, which might be expected in a man of the rank he now enjoys.

F I R S T C A M P A I G N.

L E T T E R I.

On board the Zodiack, Sunday the 29th of
April, 1758.

S I R

OUR Admiral desires I may do myself the honour to request, in his name, that you will be pleased to give the most pressing orders, for the succouring of his squadron. We are going to leave the *Silphide* along with the *Bien-Aimé*, and put to sea as soon as possible, to get into the wind and work up to Pondichery. The English appeared to be sick of the battle, as soon as the *Comte de Provence* and the *Diligente* got within reach of them; but several of our ships fell to leeward; and, in spite of all the signals we could make, paid too little regard to the motions of our General, who did all that lay in his power to keep the wind. Add to this, that, having made a signal for the squadron to anchor this night, the *Bien-Aimé*, which formed the rear guard, instead of anchoring in the offing, ran ashore, we cannot conceive why; and, indeed, the thing will appear incredible. Were it not for this, Monsieur
d'Aché

d'Aché would have no reason to complain, since the English were roughly handled in spite of all their advantages, as well in point of wind, as extraordinary weight of artillery, and the misbehaviour of that division, whose Commander was at Pondichery. After all *the King's ship has suffered greatly*; there is an absolute necessity for our getting *succours in men, in water, in provisions, and other refreshments.*

I am told that Monsieur de Breteuil is going to Pondichery; he will give you a more particular account of what has happened and of our present situation.

I am, &c.

Signed, Monteil - - - Sub-Commodore.

P. S. *In the Count d'Aché's own hand-writing.*

I am almost dead with fatigue. The blunder of the Captain of the *Bien-Aimé*, who has lost his ship by a mismanagement I cannot account for, has almost put me beside myself. I have, however, some little hopes left. Poor le Bourdonnais and Dupleffis are killed; my two nephews, Cenneville and Derffe, and my three midshipmen, wounded. Little Guy has lost a leg. I have told you enough: I embrace you most cordially.

Signed, d'ACHÉ.

R E M A R K S.

In this letter, written by the Count d'Aché, in the overflowings of his heart, immediately after the battle between him and the English on his appearing on the coast of Coromandel, he attributes all his misfortunes to the misbehaviour of the Captain of the *Bien-Aimé*, who has since fully cleared himself, and that of several other Captains of his squadron, who fell too much to leeward *. He says nothing of the slowness of the *Comte de Provence* and the *Diligente*; notwithstanding which he now deposes, that Count Lally and Monsieur de Leyrit had signed a joint order to the Captain of the *Comte de Provence* not to join the squadron, till he had landed the equipages belonging to the regiment of Lally. Count Lally, when confronted with the Count d'Aché, called upon him for this order; but the Count d'Aché made answer, that he had only kept a copy of it. Count Lally then called for this copy; but the Count d'Aché could not produce it. The fact is, it was impossible there should be a single bale belonging to the regiment of Lally on board

* To fall to leeward, when one fights to the leeward, signifies, in polite terms, to fly before the enemy;

that ship. The fact is, that the Count d'Aché, when he put into Karical for intelligence, got no news there of the English squadron; that the people at Pondichery were equally strangers to this squadron's being on the coast; that the Count d'Aché did not chuse to land Count Lally in his own ship, which was a King's ship, lest he should be obliged to hoist certain colours due to a Governor on landing within his jurisdiction; that the Count d'Aché had given Count Lally warning of this at his first putting into *Rio Janeiro*; that Count Lally considered it as a matter of great indifference, though he took notice of it to the Ministry from that place; that, for this reason, the Count d'Aché landed Count Lally at Mauritius in a shallop. In a word, the fact is, that the *Comte de Provence* had orders to wait for the squadron, which the Count d'Aché was in hopes would anchor the day following at Pondichery; that Count Lally and the Count d'Aché had agreed to make an attempt, in concert, this same following day, on Cudaloor; and that, on that very day, the Count d'Aché was surpris'd by the English squadron. It is hard to guess, why the Count d'Aché should employ all these shifts and evasions to disguise a fact known all over the Indies; a fact, of which an account had been immediately dispatched to Court,

Court. Had the Count d'Aché dreamed of a single English man of war being on the coast, he would not have let Count Lally have a canoe, and had a right to refuse it. If the Captain of the *Comte de Provence* had forgot his duty so far, as to obey the orders of Count Lally and Monsieur de Leyrit to the neglect of those given him by his own superior, the Count d'Aché would have had him tried by a Court Martial; and he would have deserved death. Besides, this Captain's being at Pondichery did not hinder the first Lieutenant, who commanded in his absence, from obeying the Admiral's signals. A Lieutenant Colonel, when in the presence of an enemy, does not wait the arrival of his Colonel from the head quarters, to lead on the regiment. It is surprising how people can have recourse to such absurdities.

L E T T E R II.

Pondichery, the 18th of May, 1758.

LET us but take courage, my dear General, and all will go well. You will take Fort St. David; and, that done, we will concert between us the properest measures for rendering ourselves masters of the sea. The worst of it is, that we
cannot

cannot mutually assist each other. For my part, I wait for the English; and, bad a condition as I am in, I will still give them a warm reception; and you may depend on our surpassing ourselves to make them repent their presumption. I am doing all I can to man our batteries, *but there are 1294 of our men in the hospitals*; and, amongst those who remain on board, many more who ought to be there too. No matter; all will go well yet. Dispatch your citadel, and let me have the pleasure of embracing you at your return. I shall communicate your letter to Monsieur de Leyrit. My compliments to all your gentlemen. Adieu, my dear General. I have fixed on *the Diligente* to carry some effects to Cudaloor. I beg of you to order her to be unloaded and sent back to me as soon as possible.

I have the honour, &c.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

R E M A R K S.

This letter was written twelve days after Count Lally's landing at Pondichery. It does not, certainly, take any notice of the project, which the Count d'Aché says he twelve days after proposed to Count Lally, *of going to attack the English Squadron under Madras.*
Nay,

Nay, it takes notice of the impossibility he was under of going there. This precise number of 1294 sailors in the hospitals could not, certainly, be replaced by 2000 soldiers, the most Count Lally had in his army; and who, besides, were not sailors. It will appear by what follows, that, as often as Count Lally offered the Count d'Aché any soldiers to second him in the mixed operations he proposed to him, this very Count d'Aché used to object, that it was sailors and not soldiers he wanted. These are palpable contradictions.

L E T T E R III.

Pondichery, the 28th of May, 1758, at
Three in the afternoon.

YOU will hear, my dear General, from the deputies of the Council held this morning, the condition of my unfortunate squadron, and how much I stand in need of speedy and effectual assistance. I am not insensible, my dear General, of yours; but mine is much more mortifying; for my losing of a battle could not but greatly embarrass your affairs. Let me, therefore, know what you can do; or, at least your opinion; or, in short, if you hope to be soon master of Fort St. David, and thereby enable me to go and meet
the

the English, who, were I in a better way, would not parade it as they do. Adieu, my dear General. Let me always have a share in your affections.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

R E M A R K S.

This letter confirms what the Count d'Aché had already alledged concerning the impossibility he was under of putting to sea; and is supported by the resolution of a mixed Council, which the Count d'Aché assembled to justify his taking shelter under the cannon of Pondichery, and there waiting for the enemy. Two Deputies having been sent from Pondichery to inform Count Lally of this resolution, he immediately, on hearing it, set out, though it was night, for that place, with 400 Europeans and 200 Blacks, and on his arrival re-assembled the mixed Council, whom he caused to repeal the shameful resolution of the evening before; and, moreover, on Monsieur de Leyrit's refusal to pay 60,000 livres, which had been promised the sailors on their landing in the Indies, and on the nonpayment of which they openly threatened not to go on board again, he let them have that sum out of his own pocket; upon which they returned to their duty. But the Count d'Aché, instead of going to meet the English, as by this letter he
tells

tells Count Lally he would, steered a different way, and took advantage of this reinforcement brought him by Count Lally, to turn his back upon them, and run sixty leagues further to the south. Behold, in what manner the Count d'Aché, two days after, proposed to Count Lally, according to what he himself advances, *to sail against the English at Madras*. It is worth observing, that the Count d'Aché declares in this letter, that his losing a battle could not but greatly embarrass Count Lally's affairs; and it did so, accordingly.

L E T T E R IV.

From the Count d'Aché to Monsieur de Leyrit, who sent it to Count Lally, dated the 1st of June, at ten in the evening.

AN N E X E D I send you, Sir, the copy of a letter written me by Monsieur Porcher, Governor of Karical. It were to be wished, that people did not so much over-rate our strength, and under-rate that of the English. Moreover, I shall do every thing in my power not to expose wantonly to disgrace the King's Flag. I expect the *Silphide* will not delay rejoining me. I was in hopes she would have put to sea along with me.

I never

I never had more occasion for her. I wish she was better manned. But let her come at any rate, in order to increase the number of our ships.

I am, beyond all expression, Sir, yours, &c.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

I believe it would be for the good of the service, that, instead of continuing at anchor at Cudaloor, I should get more into the wind, in order to intercept that English man of war, in her way to the squadron. Communicate this notion of mine to Monsieur le Comte de Lally.

R E M A R K S.

There is something remarkable in every tittle of this letter from the Count d'Aché to Monsieur de Leyrit. It is dated the 1st of June, when, certainly, the Count knew nothing of the enemy's proposing to capitulate the day following. Count Lally himself did not then expect it. The Count d'Aché, therefore, was, from the very first of June, for beating up to the south, and getting farther from the English squadron, without waiting for the surrender of
Fort

Fort St. David. He did not, therefore, think of seeing Count Lally, since he commissioned Monsieur de Leyrit; who resided four leagues from him in Pondichery, to communicate his project to Count Lally, though Count Lally then lay within a league of him. And, in fact, it was the unforeseen surrender of Fort St. David that very next day (the second of June) which, with repeated instances by Count Lally, at length determined the Count d'Aché to come ashore for some hours; *when Count Lally proposed to him to sail directly for Madras, and not allow the English time to look about them.* The Count d'Aché has now the face to advance, that it was he who made this proposal to Count Lally, and that Count Lally refused to comply with it. The air of the Indies must be very contagious, for a man like the Count d'Aché, who had scarce allowed himself time to breathe it, verbally to depose the very reverse of what he had before given under his own hand; and it is very extraordinary, that Count Lally, throughout the whole course of the proceedings against him, should be obliged to oppose to every witness the hand-writing of that very witness, in order to convict him of his imposture! It is true, that the resolution to assassinate Count Lally was a sure expedient, had it succeeded; for

for then Count Lally would have had no papers to produce against them.

The Count d'Aché had the evening before written to Monsieur de Leyrit, that he was for getting to the south to avoid exposing the King's flag to any disgrace. He added, that his strength was too much overrated, and that of the enemy too much underrated. Does there appear in this letter, or in any of the preceding ones, any sign of the Count d'Aché's intending to sail against Madras, thirty leagues to the north. It appears, that Monsieur Porcher, whose command lay very near the Dutch and Danish settlements, and who had received an account from thence of the real condition of the English squadron, was fully persuaded, as well as the whole settlement, that the Count d'Aché might have attacked the English squadron to advantage. But the Count d'Aché, immediately after leaving Count Lally, put to sea, and steered to the south, without so much as vouchsafing a salute, even of a single pistol, to the King's colours then flying at Fort St. David, though it was in the road of that place he had been at anchor. Will it appear credible, after these pieces and this true state of the case, that the Count d'Aché should have written to Europe, and that the officer he dispatched to Court should have given out,

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that

that it was (the Count d'Aché) who took Fort St. David; and that it should be so mentioned even in the Gazettes?

L E T T E R V.

On board the Zodiack in the Road of Kari-cal, the 9th of June, 1758.

S I R,

OUR Admiral desires I may do myself the honour to inform you, that *he is going to hoist sail again in order to run to the southward*; and that, having well considered the advantages that must result from getting the start of the enemy, by securing, if possible, our reinforcements from Mauritius, he proposes to stretch away even as high as the Bay of Trincomally, where the squadron will continue to cruize till the 18th or 20th, when Monsieur le Comte d'Aché will examine the means that may be still left him of continuing there longer, if circumstances should require it. He, besides, begs leave to observe to you, that, in spite of all Monsieur Porcher's care, the squadron must put to sea with a far less quantity of refreshments, than the condition of our crews require; all of them being still greatly fatigued, and many of the men very weak and feeble; for which reason,

Sir,

Sir, all the Captains of the Council of war assembled on this occasion, at the same time that they voted for this cruize, could not but take notice of the necessity there was for our friends ashore using every possible means to get in readiness, against our return to Pondichery, all the succours we may want for the execution of further designs.

Monfieur d'Aché, Sir, desires I may do myself the honour to request, that you will give directions about the *water, wood, and provisions*, he may want; but, above all things, that his sick may be taken good care of in the hospitals of Pondichery. Moreover, amongst the other things which it will be proper to have in readiness against his return, he desires I may make particular mention of two new rudders, one for the *Vengeur*, the other for the *Saint-Louis*. He hopes, that, when you shall give orders for the demolishing of Cudaloor, there may be found there pieces of timber large enough for that purpose. He, likewise, hopes, that the removing of the naval stores found at Fort St. David will give an opportunity of collecting many things, which may prove very useful to the squadron.

Above all things, Sir, he hopes, that, by adding the sailors acquired by exchanging prisoners to those recovered in the hospitals, means will be found to man the squadron better than it is at present, in as much as very little stress can be laid on the sepoys, with whom we have been obliged to make up our complements.

Monsieur de Maudave wrote to Monsieur le Comte d'Aché to desire, that the *Silphide* might be dispatched to Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing. Upon this, Monsieur le Comte d'Aché desires I may take notice to you, that, according to the general opinion of his Captains, it appeared to him more for the good of the service, that the *Silphide* should continue with the squadron of the cruize, on which we are now going. This vessel may prove very serviceable, in as much as the *Diligente* is scarce able to stir; whereas the *Silphide*, though very ill manned, may still occasionally keep in awe any common vessel; and, at all times, sail a-head, and go on the look out.

Monsieur d'Aché is, moreover, of opinion, that with the assistance of the crew of the *Sainte Brigitte* it will be no hard matter to free Devi-cottah either with the *Diligente*, or the two Bots, or the *Restitution*.

In fine, he desires I may do myself the kononr to tell you, that he has abided by the general opinion, *which is to remain as long as possible to the south of Pondichery*, as well to wait *the Centaure*, and intercept the succours expected by the English, as to keep *the wind of Admiral Pococke*, in case that Admiral, instead of withdrawing from before Madras, should resolve to fight us *before we can attack that place*. *The Comte de Provence* makes twenty inches of water every four-and-twenty hours; *the Diligente*, the same; and *it will be no easy matter* to repair them at *Pondichery*. However, while the squadron is on its cruize, there will be time enough to prepare such things, as we may have the most pressing occasion for. Messieurs de Leyrit and Babinet will be able to guess what they are, and provide accordingly; and they will do it the sooner and the better, when quickened by your orders.

Monseigneur d'Aché says a thousand kind things to you, and wishes you health to continue your conquests.

I am, &c.

Signed, the CHEVALIER DE MONTEIL.

Our Admiral has just received from Monsieur de Maudave a letter written to that gentleman by Monsieur Fischer, to acquaint

O him,

him, that he had received advice from Tranquebar of the English being at Ceylon, in order to be at hand to intercept the vessels, that may be coming to us from the Madagascar Islands. If that is, in fact, the intention of Admiral Pococke, we shall be able to find him. Besides, it makes no alteration in the resolution we have taken.

R E M A R K S.

This letter is in answer to two expresses, which Count Lally had dispatched one after another to Karical, to endeavour to stop the Count d'Aché there, and bring him back to Pondichery. It is the Count d'Aché who ordered this letter to be written by his Sub-Commodore; and it is the same Count d'Aché who now deposes, *that he proposed to Count Lally to sail for Madras after the taking of Fort St. David; and adds, withal, that he would have beat the enemy, but that Count Lally would not give his consent.*

It is the Count d'Aché who says, that his resolution was taken to get to a greater distance from the English squadron, and keep the wind of it, lest the English Admiral should take it into his head to come and attack him, before he was, himself, in a

con-

condition to attack Madras; and that this was the unanimous opinion of his Captains: yet it is the same Count d'Aché who now deposes, *that he wanted to sail for Madras, in order to beat the English Squadron*, though he took care to put, between him and it, a hundred leagues.

But all this could not discourage Count Lally. On the receipt of this letter, he repairs to Pondichery, and assembles the Council, who resolve to send an express by sea to the Count d'Aché, and summon him to return to Pondichery. This is a fact proved by authentic pieces. The Count d'Aché receives this summons, and returns to Pondichery the 17th of June 1758.

On the Count d'Aché's return to Pondichery, Count Lally and Monsieur de Leyrit have a conference with him. They propose to him to sail for Madras, while Count Lally led the army against it. To this the Count d'Aché answers, *Gentlemen, you are always at me to fight: I am scarce in a condition to keep the sea*. Upon this, they propose to him just to sail into the latitude of Sadras, half way between Pondichery and Madras, and fourteen leagues to the windward of the latter: which he refuses. They then propose to him to sail into the latitude

of Alemparwa at no more than seven leagues from Pondichery, in order to awe the English squadron, and hinder it from landing any part of the land forces on board it, or of its own crews at Madras; or cutting off Count Lally's communication with Pondichery. *Well then,* replied the Count d'Aché, *I am satisfied, but let me first be victualled for four months. Otherwise I will not stir a step from Pondichery. Four months!* replies Monsieur de Leyrit. *Surely, Sir, you forget yourself. Alemparwa is ours. It lies but seven leagues from us; and that, too, to the leeward. We may supply you with provisions there from day to day, as well as if you were at Pondichery itself.* The Count d'Aché cries out: *But, Gentlemen, suppose the worst to happen, meaning the best, suppose I should beat the English, where am I to take shelter? Any where,* rejoins Monsieur de Leyrit, *any where, Sir!* Thus ended this second consultation between the three Chiefs; for they had one the evening before. It was in consequence of this reiterated refusal of the Count d'Aché, that Monsieur de Leyrit determined Count Lally to invade Tanjore, by declaring to him, that he had not wherewith to pay or subsist his army for above fifteen days.

The upshot of these two extraordinary consultations was soon in the mouths of every man,

man, woman, and child, at Pondichery ; and for a long time continued the jest and table-talk of all ranks.

L E T T E R VI.

On board the Zodiack, the 14th of June,
1758.

I AM cruizing, my dear General, on the coast of Ceylon, and endeavouring to cover the arrival of our ships, and intercept those of the enemy.

Herewith I send you a little prize. I have been at Nega-patnam, where they did every thing I desired. I reckon to be with you soon. Adieu, my dear General. If you don't love me, you are greatly to blame, for I love you with all my heart.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

R E M A R K S.

The ships spoken of in this letter were all a fable. The Count d'Aché would have been more in the way to intercept those of the enemy, and protect the French, by keeping in sight, and to the windward, of the English squadron, than by cruizing off the point of Ceylon.

L E T T

L E T T E R, VII.

Of the 6th of August.

I Should go distracted, my dear General, were you to hear from any one but myself the different events of my cruize. I put to sea from this place in sight of the English, as well to avoid risking a battle at anchor, as to keep the wind of them, and continue master of my motions. I twice fell to leeward upon them in order to engage them; but, both times, most of my ships found it impossible to open their lower batteries. At length, on the 5th of August, enraged at all these disappointments, I made a motion to crush their rear; but the wind having shifted, just as we came within cannon shot of each other, I took the resolution to form to the leeward of them, and wait for them. The battle began at noon; but the fireworks thrown at us soon changed the aspect of things. The mizen mast of the *Comte de Provence* took fire, which obliged her to get out of the line, and cut it away. For my part, I had my rudder twice disabled, and my powder room set on fire, so that it is a miracle I was not blown up. These accidents, joined to the disorder which they necessarily caused in my
line,

line, determined me to retreat, with a view of forming again. But the English squadron, not daring to pursue me within reach of my guns, *I thought the best thing I could do was to make for Pondichery.* I had thirty-three men killed outright on board my own ship, and one hundred and fifty dangerously wounded. Such is the sea news, my dear General, I have to give you. I have been for a long time in expectation of receiving from you an account of the success of your enterprises. Be assured that I take as much concern in them as yourself.

I have, &c.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

R E M A R K S.

It will never be believed, that this letter is the letter of a man, who insists on his having proposed to Count Lally to go in quest of the English, and fight them, immediately after the taking of Fort St. David. Besides, it does not appear, how Count Lally could have hindered the Count d'Aché from attacking or beating the English; nor what assistance Count Lally could give the Count d'Aché, except that of as many soldiers as the Count d'Aché chose to accept; and this is what Count Lally never ceased doing, as may be evidently proved by public acts,

Count

Count Lally will not, in this place, take upon him to discuss all the unforeseen events alledged by the Count d'Aché, to justify the suddeness of his retreat under Pondichery at thirty leagues from the field of battle. The accidents, which may happen by sea, are no more to be put to the account of Admirals, as they cannot foresee them, than those which happen ashore, to the account of Generals. But if Count Lally, after gaining ten victories, and taking ten places, is to be reproached with living at the head of no more than 2700 men miscarried before Madras defended by 5000; if he is to be reproached with not being able at the head of no more than 1250 men to beat 2600 at Vandiwash; it must be the height of partiality to consider, as a simple event, the Count d'Aché's having twice yielded to an equal force; a force, which the English, in order to heighten their victories, have even declared inferior to that of the Count d'Aché. It would be something more than partiality, to regard, as merely accidental, the Count d'Aché's being worsted the year following with forces unquestionably superior in every respect, and give him credit for the unforeseen accidents, to which this third defeat might have been owing, at the same time that Count Lally will not be heard, though willing to prove, that he could not hold out Pondichery against an enemy which had twenty men to oppose him to his
one :

one; not to speak of the want of every kind of resource, which Count Lally had moreover to contend with.

Count Lally would never have thought of alledging these facts, however notorious, if the Count d'Aché did not lay him under a necessity of doing it in his own defence. The Count d'Aché has not blushed to depose, that it was on receiving an account of Count Lally's bad success against Tanjore, that he resolved to hazard an engagement with the English fleet. Nevertheless, the enemy had been two months looking out for the Count d'Aché; and he, by his own confession, as long endeavouring to avoid them, in order not to expose the King's flag to disgrace.

This letter of the Count d'Aché is dated from Pondichery the 6th of August. The battle mentioned in it was fought the 5th; so that there was no time lost. It was on the 28th of July, that the Council of Pondichery, on the appearance of the English squadron, resolved that the Count d'Aché should put to sea. But the Count, who chose to remain under the walls of Pondichery, declared to this Council, that he would not be answerable for the event.

It was on the 2d of August, that the Count d'Aché got up to the windward from Karical,
on

on the approach of the English squadron; and it is at Karical he pretends to have received an account of the bad success of the expedition against Tanjore, which did not begin till the 3d; and this pretended ill success, that is, the retreat of the French army from before Tanjore, is of the 10th. A man must be a prophet to foresee things eight days before they happen, and it is notorious that the Count d'Aché had not that gift.

The truth is, it was the news of the defeat of the Count d'Aché, and the presence of the English squadron which blocked up Karical, the only place by which Count Lally could keep up a communication with Pondichery, that made the council of war, assembled before Tanjore on the 8th of August, resolve to drop that expedition, in order to run to the assistance of our own settlements, endangered by this defeat of the Count d'Aché. This citation, therefore, of the Count d'Aché, is a mere calumny, thrown away to no purpose. It is plain, that all he proposed was to unite his voice to that of a gang of witnesses, who had conspired to treat the expedition of Tanjore as an unhappy event in itself, and attended, besides, with very ill consequences; which it by no means was.

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The date of this same letter of the Count d'Aché's makes against him. He writes to Count Lally the 6th, the day after his engagement, that he is impatient to hear of the success of his enterprizes. He, therefore, could not have heard at Karical, on the 6th, the news of their miscarrying. He, therefore, knew nothing of it the 6th; and how could he, since it did not happen till the 10th?

Count Lally could point out another inconsistency in this letter of the Count d'Aché's, in which he says, that the English having never, after the engagement, dared to come within cannon-shot of him, he thought he could not do better than make the best of his way to Pondichery. This very timidity, which the Count d'Aché discovered in the English, should have been a motive to him not to be in such a hurry to get to Pondichery.

L E T T E R VIII.

From Pondichery, the 21st of August, 1758.

THE Council must have communicated to you, my dear General, the letter I wrote them in answer to one they received from yourself. You must perceive by this letter *the condition of my Squadron, which is no longer*

langer in a condition to do any thing. All my Captains have made representations to me on this head. They look upon their vessels as lost, if I don't conduct them into some port, where they may be repaired, their masts and upper works being greatly damaged, and many of them besides making a great deal of water. I was in hopes of seeing you arrive here, and being able, in consequence thereof, to come to some immediate resolution. I expect you, my dear General; and, on that account, have deferred my departure for some days, *still protesting, that I will be no longer answerable for what damage the enemy may do me.* My vessels are not in a condition to wait a moment, or lose the opportunity afforded by the retreat of the English to get off unmolested. They might, should they take it into their heads to attack me, put it out of my power to reach the Island of Mauritius again. Be so kind, therefore, as to come to some resolution. I wait your answer. Time runs on. I embrace you, my dear General, with all my heart.

Signed, D'ACHE'.

R E M A R K S.

It is hard to reconcile the bad condition, to which the Count d'Aché says his squadron

squadron is reduced, with all the damage he says he did the English. In fact, it appears by the letters already produced, which were received after the two battles he had been obliged to fight, *that he had handled the English roughly; that the English were sick of it; that the English were afraid to come within cannon shot of him.* Why, therefore, did he leave these English, masters of the sea? Why does he say in this letter, that he is resolved to avail himself of the distance they were at from him, to steal to the Madagascar Islands, protesting, withal, against the delay given him by Count Lally's absence? Had not Count Lally a right, after all these letters from the Count d'Aché, to insist on his not abandoning the coast, and to offer him half his army, as he did in full Council by the Count d'Estaing, to sail for Madras? He had eight vessels; the English had but seven. The English had as few resources in Madras, as the Count d'Aché had in Pondichery. The English had now been keeping the sea for five years together; and it was notorious, that their squadron was in a worse condition than that of the Count d'Aché.

The letters of Monsieur de Leyrit, which are just going to be exhibited, the resolutions of the Council of Pondichery, and the representations of the Count d'Estaing; all support

the reasons, which Count Lally had to oppose the departure of the Count d'Aché.

SECOND CAMPAIGN.

LETTER IX.

On board the Zodiack; the 15th of September, 1759.

I AM at length arrived, my dear General; not, indeed, as soon as I could have wished, though, fortunately, time enough to let you have the slender succours I have been able to force from the island of Mauritius. I employed every means, without exception, that I could think of, to be able to join you in time. There are no sollicitations, no threats, that I had not recourse to, to hasten the work, though still kept back, by the ill will and unskilfulness of a parcel of fellows of every kind, upon whom it in some measure depended. For my part, all I could do was, to endeavour to compensate the delays, to which I was obliged to submit. I was but nine and twenty days on the passage between Madagascar and Ceylon; and after taking, at Trinquemalet, such precautions, as the good of my squadron required, I no longer thought of any thing but you, and the danger *with which*
I had

I had reason to fear Pondichery was threatened. The 10th of this month, I had a very warm engagement with the English squadron, in the latitude of Tranquebar. We handled each other roughly. I received a dangerous wound. I send you some succours, notwithstanding. I let you have, with all my heart, some money I have on board my ships, in order to give you all the assistance in my power. What is still more, I weaken my crews to reinforce you with some European soldiers, and the greatest part of my Blacks. But, then, it is all I can do. You have no more to expect from me. The season advances. My ships are in bad order. I am going to hoist sail, my dear General; and I sacrifice the pleasure of seeing you to that of being the earlier on the coast next year. Adieu, my dear General. I embrace you with all my heart.

Signed, d'ACHÉ.

R E M A R K S.

Such is the surprising letter written, after an absence of thirteen months, by the Count d'Aché to Count Lally. In this letter, the Count d'Aché says, that he is just going to hoist sail for the Madagascar Islands; that he is willing to part to Count Lally with some money he has got on board his ships; and that Count

Lally has nothing more to expect from him. Now this money consisted in 400,000 livres in specie, and to the same amount in diamonds, in lieu of two millions, which the company had the year before destined for Pondichery; and half of which, had it not been detained at the Madagascar islands, would have enabled Count Lally to make himself master of Madras.

The Count d'Aché agrees, that he could foresee Pondichery was in danger. This danger could be no other than that of being blocked up by the English squadron, which the 400,000 livres he was willing to part with, and the hundred and forty recruits he had brought for the company's troops, could by no means prevent.

Monsieur de Leyrit, the Council, and all the principal officers, repair on board the Count d'Aché, to prevail upon him to stay; but the most they can obtain from him is a delay of four and twenty hours. This delay they avail themselves of, to represent to him, that abandoning the coast is the same thing with devoting Pondichery to certain destruction. Count Lally, on his side, sends to acquaint the Count d'Aché, that the English were in full march to attack our army under Vandiwash, requesting him to wait,
at

at least, the issue of that event. He let him know, at the same time, that he had received dispatches from Court, with orders to communicate them to him. The reader will be surpris'd at the Count d'Aché's answer. Here it is.

L E T T E R X.

On board the Zodiack, the 17th of September, 1759.

I AM heartily concerned, Sir, that the dangerous wound I have received will not permit me to settle with you what steps it may be proper to take in our present circumstances. It would give me the greatest pleasure to be able to act in concert with you. It is what I have long wish'd for; but I have let you and the Council know the mind I am now of, which no consideration, certainly, could have made me alter, as, before I took my resolution, I maturely weigh'd all the reasons that could be brought against it. *I have engaged the English squadron, and disabled it from attempting any thing till the next season.* I have brought to Pondichery the succours I took under my convoy. I have even weakened my crews to reinforce the garrison of that place to the best of my power. What more can I do? Must I not look to the safety of my squadron; by doing

which, I shall do more for the safety of Pondichery than my presence, henceforward of no use, can do. Be persuaded, Sir, that it is not for want of good will, I have taken this resolution. I have as much as any man. But it is the advice of my Captains, it is prudence, it is my zeal for the good of the thing that moves me to it; a principle, which I will never swerve from.

I have the honour of being,

Signed, d'ACHÉ.

R E M A R K S.

This letter is not in the affectionate style, with the preceding letter. The Count d'Aché had but just received the letter of the Council, by which they opposed his departure. He declares, *that he had disabled the English squadron from attempting any thing till the next season.* Why, therefore, did he leave the English masters of the sea; and by doing so give the Princes of the country reason to conclude, that it was the English squadron which had disabled the French squadron from keeping the sea? Why did he not wait for the instructions from Court, which Count Lally had orders to communicate to him,

The

The English knew no seasons in the Indies. Their squadron never ceased, in whole or in part; winter or summer, to block up Pondichery. The same expedients which they used to keep the coast, and yet escape the equinoctial hurricanes, which are less frequent and less dangerous on this coast than on the coast of Brittany, were proposed to the Count d'Aché. The Count d'Aché pretends, that he has three times beat the enemy; yet this enemy obliged him three times to fly the Indian seas; the last time never to shew his face there again.

It will be granted, that victories in the Indies very much resemble defeats in Europe. Accordingly, the people of Europe may depend on their having seized the truth, when they have taken the very reverse of all the accounts received from the Indies. Of this the prosecution carried on against Count Lally is a striking instance.

On this sudden departure of the Count d'Aché, the whole settlement assembled, and unanimously signed a protest, by which *they render him alone responsible for the loss of Pondichery*, and threaten to *apply to the King himself for justice against him*. The currents had, in the mean time, carried him to the north. This protest having reached him on the high seas, he holds

a council of war on board his ship; returns in five days to Pondichery; comes ashore for two days; loses the finest opportunity of crushing the English squadron, which, thinking him sailed for the islands, appears in disorder the 27th at day-break in sight of Pondichery. In a word, he fails the 1st of October never to return again; and on his sailing writes the following letter.

L E T T E R XI.

On board the Zodiack, the 1st of October, 1759.

[Most heartily congratulate you, my dear General, on the advantage our troops have this day obtained. No doubt, we have paid dear for it; but it is still doing a great deal. I am going to repair your loss by sending you five hundred men; we will, on our arrival at Mauritius, forward you all the succours we can find there. You may depend on my not abandoning Pondichery, as long as I can be of any use to it.

I must recommend to your kindness the officers, who go ashore with the sailors. I leave to yourself the manner in which it may be proper to treat them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, d'ACHE'.

This

This very moment I have received representations from Monsieur de Leguille in regard to the men I give you. It is against his opinion. You may guess by this what difficulties I am under; since, to reinforce and oblige you, I act contrary to the opinion of a general officer of his majesty's sea forces. Monsieur de Gadeville will tell you the rest.

R E M A R K S.

Count Lally had sent Monsieur de Gadeville on board the Count d'Aché with an account of the victory mentioned in this letter; and had informed him of it an hour before by a discharge of one hundred pieces of cannon. The Count d'Aché was then preparing to hoist sail. The gaining of a battle appeared to Count Lally a sufficient motive to make the Count d'Aché stop; at least, till all the circumstances of the battle, and all the consequences of the victory, could be ascertained, that he might be able to carry the news to Mauritius, and from thence forward it to Europe by the first ships. This victory should have engaged the Count d'Aché to come ashore, and confer in person with Count Lally, then confined to his bed, and with the Council of Pondichery, in order to consult with them on the means of turning it to some account

count, by determining the princes of the country to declare themselves, according to custom, for the victorious party. And, in fact, Bassalet-Zingue, brother of Salabet-Zingue sovereign of the whole country, was then in full march to join Count Lally, with 12,000 men. But, hearing that the Count d'Aché had abandoned the sea, he turned back; and with the petty princes in the neighbourhood of Pondichery, (who, since they have had any Europeans upon the coast, know full well, that the superiority of these Europeans over one another ashore is ever decided by their superiority at sea) continued neuter; so that Count Lally reaped no kind of benefit from this victory.

It must be owned, that the Count d'Aché actually sent Count Lally 450 sailors, or rather cabin boys, the scum of his squadron. Accordingly, 200 of them deserted to the English squadron; many of them ended their lives by the hands of the executioner; and 50, with whom Count Lally garrisoned Vandiwash, let the enemy into it. The remaining 200 were those who lay within the bound-hedge of Pondichery, when the English obliged Monsieur Dure to retreat within it; and whom Monsieur Moracin has honour and honesty enough to stile, *the best troops in the Indies*.

Monfieur

Monfieur de Gadeville returns. Neither the zeal, with which the Count d'Aché, in his preceding letter, fays he was animated for the good of the thing; noreven curiofity; nothing, in a word, as he himfelf had previously declared, can make him alter the refolution he had taken, after having firft well weighed all the reafons that could be brought againft it. One would be apt to imagine, that Count Lally and the Count d'Aché ferved two different mafters.

CONCLUSION OF REMARKS.

Thefe remarks may be concluded by a very ftriking contrast. The Count d'Aché is defeated on his arrival in the Indies. Count Lally takes Cudaloor, Fort St. David, and Devi-cottah. The Count d'Aché is defeated a fecond time, and fails for the Madagafcar Iflands. Count Lally, the day after his departure, makes himfelf mafter of Arcot, and all the places or forts of that province, as far as Madras, in which he pens up the Englifh. The Count d'Aché receives a reinforcement of four fhips; comes to Pondichery again at the expiration of thirteen months; is beat a third time; abandons Pondichery and the Indies, never to fhew his face there again. Count Lally gains a victory the very day that the
Count

Count d'Aché deserts him ; holds out Pondichery for sixteen months, without ships, without men, without provisions, without money, without any kind of succours from the Madagascar Islands or Europe. Is it not, therefore, to be presumed, that, if Count Lally had been assisted by the Count d'Aché, as the English General was by Admiral Pococke, Pondichery would never have experienced the fate to which it was at last obliged to submit ? To finish this parallel in two words: the English sacrificed their squadron to take Pondichery ; the Count d'Aché would not so much as risk his to save it.

EXTRACTS FROM SOME LETTERS
WRITTEN BY MONSIEUR DE LEYRIT
TO COUNT LALLY, CONCERNING THE
REFUSAL OF THE COUNT D'ACHE' TO
SAIL FOR MADRAS, AFTER THE REDUC-
TION OF FORT ST. DAVID.

The 12th of MAY, 1758.

MONSIEUR de LEYRIT, by his letter of this date to Count Lally, tells him, *that the squadron of Monsieur d'Aché should be the palladium of the company's settlements, and insure the success of all his (Count Lally's) enterprises. He sends Count Lally a copy of the letter, which he had just received from the Count d'Aché, in which the Count d'Aché acquaints him, that,*

that, the English being under sail, they may possibly fall upon him; that the crews of his ships are quite reduced; and that the Zodiack, the best manned of them all, had not 200 men.

R E M A R K S.

Monfieur de Leyrit agrees, that the safety of the Company's fettlements, and the success of Count Lally's enterprises, depend on the Count d'Aché's squadron. This loss, which the Count d'Aché exaggerates to Monfieur de Leyrit, and the fear he expreffes of the enemy's falling upon him, proves, that the Count d'Aché had not beat this enemy, as he wrote to Court he had. They prove, at the same time, that the Count d'Aché could not, eighteen days after this, have proposed to Count Lally to go and attack the English squadron under Madras.

The 18th of MAY, 1758.

By his letter of this date, *he acquaints him with the danger to which Karical was exposed, threatened as it was by the English squadron; and the necessity of succouring it.*

R E M A R K S.

It was this very consideration, that determined Count Lally to evacuate Seringham, a
post

post within land, in order to protect the coast, in lieu of the Count d'Aché's squadron, which was unrigged.

The 27th of MAY, 1758.

By his letter of this date, he tells him, *that the English squadron could not double Alamparwa.*

R E M A R K S.

Count d'Aché, therefore, was not then in fight of the English squadron, as he says he was in his other letters of the same date.

The 28th of MAY, 1758.

By his letter of this date, *he informs him of the resolution taken by Monsieur d'Aché, to run in under the cannon of Pondichery.*

R E M A R K S.

This was not, certainly, acting like a man, who, as he himself affirms, four days after, that is the 2d of June, proposed to Count Lally to go in quest of the English, and beat them.

The 30th of MAY, 1758.

By his letter of this day, he says, *that Monsieur d'Aché intended to remain at anchor, and wait for the enemy in that position; that they find it the greatest difficulty in the world to get the sailors together, who express a great deal of disgust and want of spirit; and he adds, God preserve the squadron to us, for I can foresee nothing but ruin, in case we should be unhappy enough to lose it.*

R E M A R K S.

Monsieur de Leyrit, therefore, could foresee, from the first month of Count Lally's arrival, that without a squadron there was no expecting any success in the Indies. The whole question, therefore, ~~is~~ reduced to this; whether the squadron of the Count d'Aché was lost to the Indies or not?

The 1st of JUNE, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that Monsieur d'Aché had put to sea that morning, and that he (Monsieur de Leyrit) did not hear of it till noon, when he was gone. He adds, that they heard nothing of the English squadron.*

And

And, in a second letter of the same date, he says, *that the English Squadron had not so much as appeared in the latitude of Alamparwa; and that it lay to the leeward of that place.*

R E M A R K S.

That is to say, nine or ten leagues to the leeward of Pondicherry; and, of course, under an impossibility of getting there in two days. How, then, could the Count d'Aché and some suborned witnesses have the face to advance, that the Count d'Aché, by getting into the wind the 1st of June, in order to make the latitude of Fort St. David, had offered battle to the English squadron, and that the English squadron had refused it?

The 2d of JUNE, 1759.

By his letter of this date he says, *that Monsieur d'Aché, by his letter of the 1st of June, was for sailing to Karical, thirty leagues to the south.*

R E M A R K S.

The Count d'Aché had not as yet thought proper to acquaint Count Lally with this resolution,

which proves, that the Count d'Aché had not the taking of Fort St. David much at heart; an event he could not foresee, when he took this resolution. All Count Lally can say of the matter is, that this was not the course which led to the English squadron; and that the Count d'Aché, by steering a contrary one, might have come up with the English squadron in five hours.

The 6th of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that the English squadron was anchored at Sadras, a place eighteen leagues to the leeward of Fort St. David.*

R E M A R K S.

The Count d'Aché was then at Karical, forty-four leagues from the English squadron; and Count Lally was master of Fort St. David and Devi-cottah.

The 22d of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that there was a report at Tranquebar of the English having received a reinforcement of five*
Q
ships;

ships ; that, if it was so, Monsieur d'Aché would have reason to repent his not having risked a second battle.

R E M A R K S.

The Count d'Aché was then come back to Pondichery, whither the Council had summoned him to return. The news of these five vessels was false ; but the concern, which Monsieur de Leyrit supposes the Count d'Aché must be under, for not having risked a second battle, proves, that the Count d'Aché had been sollicitated to fail in quest of the enemy. How, therefore, could the Count d'Aché depose, that, twenty days before, he had offered Count Lally to go and beat the English squadron under Madras ? This squadron was but ten leagues from the Count d'Aché ; it was come two thirds of the way to meet him. How, then, and in what respect, could the Count d'Aché stand in need of Count Lally's leave to go and beat it ?

The 27th of JUNE, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that the Count d'Aché still persists in his resolution of returning to the Madagascar Islands ; and that*
he

he does not think the assembling of a Council make him alter it.

R E M A R K S.

Surely, this cannot be the Count d'Aché, the same man, who deposes that he offered Count Lally to sail, the 3d of June, for Madras, and beat the English squadron; and yet, on the 27th of June, is for returning to the Madagascar Islands. Count Lally had set out from Pondichery the 20th of June, on the Count d'Aché's refusal to sail against Madras; and, on the 25th, wrote to Monsieur de Leyrit, to desire he might use his endeavours with the Count d'Aché to prevail on him to co-operate in the expedition against Madras. The Count d'Aché did not arrive at Pondichery till the 6th of May; and was, notwithstanding, for returning to the Madagascar Islands the 27th of June; at which time he could not foresee the engagement of the 5th of August, nor that he would have the worst of it; so that no inference can be drawn from his behaviour, but that he was already, at the expiration of six weeks, resolved to abandon Pondichery.

The 1st of JULY, 1758.

By his letter of this date, he acquaints Count Lally, *that he was still employed in*

making the preparations required by him for the attack of Madras; and he adds, that Mr. Pigot had requested him to advance his English prisoners a month's pay, but that it was not in his power to do it.

R E M A R K S.

This letter proves that Count Lally never ceased thinking of Madras. It even proves, that Monsieur de Leyrit had squandered away three millions of livres in the space of two months, since he could not advance so small a sum as between eight and nine thousand to the English, whom Count Lally had made prisoners in Fort St. David.

The 13th of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that he was still entirely taken up with the preparations necessary for the siege of Madras.*

R E M A R K S.

This letter, and that immediately preceding it, sufficiently prove, that Count Lally did not refuse the Count d'Aché to march against Madras.

The 21st of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that he was at a loss how to subsist the Squadron; and he complains, at the same time, of the want of subordination in the officers of the company's troops, and of the embezzlements committed by them in the posts where they were stationed.*

R E M A R K S.

It is a sure thing, that the Count d'Aché's squadron, which did not stir from the road of Pondichery, could not but eat up the neighbouring country, which it would not have done, had it sailed for Madras. As to the embezzlements committed by the officers of the company's troops, Monsieur de Leyrit had more than reason to complain of them. They are now, however, the best officers and the honestest men living.

The 26th of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that Monsieur d'Aché, on the appearance of the English Squadron, had resolved to run in under the walls of Pondichery.* And Monsieur de Leyrit adds to this letter of his another letter, which is not signed, in which it is said, *that*

it were to be wished, that Monsieur d'Aché would sail in quest of the English Squadron.

R E M A R K S.

Count Lally was then fifty leagues from Pondichery. Therefore, the Count d'Aché cannot say with truth, though he has not been afraid to depose it, that it was Count Lally, who put the Council of Pondichery upon engaging him to go in quest of the English squadron.

The 28th of JULY, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that the Council of Pondichery had decided, that Monsieur d'Aché should put to sea.*

R E M A R K S.

By what has already appeared, it must be evident, that no small ceremony was requisite to make the Count d'Aché quit sight of the ramparts of Pondichery.

The 31st of JULY, 1758.

By his letter of this date, *he informs him of the chimerical revolutions in the Dekan, of which*

which Messieurs de Buffy and Moracin informed him ; and he adds, that the fears of these gentlemen could have no dangerous consequences, if the siege of Madras had taken place at the time, that he (Ccunt Lally) had proposed to himself to undertake it.

R E M A R K S

Is it possible to prove more evidently, that Count Lally was for attacking Madras, after the siege of Fort St. David ? This letter is dated the 31st of July. Fort St. David was taken the 2d of June. The proposals of Count Lally and Monsieur de Leyrit, as likewise the refusal of the Count d'Aché, are of the 2d, 17th, and 18th of this same month of June. It is thus, that Count Lally's enemies convict each other of falsehood and calumny.

The 4th of AUGUST, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says: *All the advantage the English could boast over the Count d'Aché was their remaining masters of the field of battle ; for that they had been as roughly handled as the French.*

R E M A R K S.

There is an anachronism in this letter, which is dated the 4th. It should be dated the 6th, the battle having been fought the 5th. This battle was, in fact, but a mere cannonade; and, in the three battles between the Count d'Aché and the English, there was not a single ship taken or sunk on either side. Monsieur d'Aché, indeed, lost, the night of his retreat after the first engagement, a seventy-four gun ship; but the English contributed nothing to this loss.

The 9th of August, 1758.

In his letter of this date he speaks to him as follows: *The delays you have met with in the siege of Madras, which you could not foresee when you gave your orders to Messieurs de Buffy and Moracin, cannot but cause some alterations therein.*

R E M A R K S.

They, in fact, caused a great deal, as Count Lally, who did not expect to be refused by the Count d'Aché, had given these two gentlemen notice, that he reckoned to besiege Madras immediately after Fort St. David, and had ordered them to join him with a body of about 1300 men, which they had under their
com-

command; and with the assistance of which he could have taken Madras. He had informed the Court of this step, and the Court had approved it. But, on the Count d'Aché's refusing to co-operate with him, and resolving to abandon the coast, he contented himself with taking about 400 men from them. The remaining 800 or 900 were left in the provinces, where these gentlemen commanded, to reinforce the garrison of Masuli-patnam, which, at Count Lally's arrival, had but 400 men to defend it. It is necessary to observe this circumstance, of which written evidence has been produced in the course of the trial. It serves to confound the imposture of the witnesses, who dare to depose, that Masuli-patnam was taken in consequence of Count Lally's stripping it of its garrison. Masuli-patnam was taken by surprize in April 1759; and that in consequence of the Count d'Aché's refusing to sail against Madras, and his abandoning the coast the 2d of September 1758.

The 13th of AUGUST, 1758.

In his letter of this date, *he speaks of nothing but the apprehensions Monsieur d'Aché was under, lest two fire-ships, with which he affected to believe the English squadron was provided, should set the French squadron on fire.*

R E-

R E M A R K S.

Monfieur de Leyrit was, no doubt, under a miftake ; and the Count d'Aché could exprefs no fuch apprehenfions after faying and writing, *that he had handled the Englifh as roughly as they had handled him ; and that they did not dare to come within cannon fhoot of him.*

The 18th of AUGUST, 1758.

Monfieur de Leyrit, in a letter of this date to Count Lally, makes ufe of thefe very expreffions : *You will fee, Sir, by this answer, the Count d'Aché's pofitive refusal to go and attack the Englifh fquadron. The Council intend to do all that lies in their power, to oppofe his departure ; and even to proteft againft him, in cafe he fhould perfift in his refolution to fail, before the bad feafon makes it neceffary for him to do fo. Though Monfieur d'Aché appears determined not to put to fea, in order to attack the Englifh fquadron with the fuccours you offer him ; nevertheless, as I prefume it is neceffary that he fhould again leave the road, in order to risk a third battle ; or, at leaft, to keep the Englifh at bay ; I reckon I fhall be under a neceffity of making frefh instances to him to-morrow.*

R E M A R K S.

It must appear very surprising, that so many *instances* should have been requisite, in the Indies, with a man, who deposes at Paris, that he would not be suffered to go in quest of the English, and beat them. Monsieur de Leyrit and the Council will not be suspected of having taken so much pains with the Count d'Aché, merely out of a compliment to Count Lally. The danger, therefore, must have been very pressing.

The 19th of AUGUST, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says : *I saw Monsieur d'Aché this morning. I again pressed him, but he would not yield to my arguments. All my instances were lost upon him.* Monsieur de Leyrit adds : *I cannot, therefore, see, how you can make any attempt upon Madras.*

R E M A R K S.

Monsieur de Leyrit gives his opinion here, in very express terms, that, without Monsieur d'Aché, *there was no making any attempt upon Madras.*

The 20th of AUGUST, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that he expected fresh succours from Europe; and that he thought of nothing, day or night, but our sad condition.; and that it was impossible for him to give us any relief.*

R E M A R K S.

It is very odd, that, after such letters from Monsieur de Leyrit, people should expect miracles from Count Lally, and consider it as a crime in him that he did not work any.

The 21st of AUGUST, 1758.

In his letter of this date, he says, *that he was still in pain for Pondichery, having heard that 700 English were marched out of Madras, though he had then with him the Chevalier de Soupire with 1000 regular troops; not to speak of the inhabitants, and the Count d'Aché's squadron, which then lay in the road.*

In short, Monsieur de Leyrit acquaints Count Lally by another letter of the same date, *that the Count d'Aché, in spite of his instructions, could not be prevailed on by the representations made to him that the fate of the colony*

colony depended upon his stay, nor by the protests of the Council against his departure, to defer it for more than five days.

R E M A R K S.

All Count Lally can add to these two letters is, that this same Pondichery, which, with 1000 men and the Count d'Aché squadron, was frightened out of its wits by 700 English, has pretended, that Count Lally, with 700 men only, and without the Count d'Aché's squadron, should not stand in any dread of 2200.

The representation and protest of the Council, produced in another place, may serve as a supplement to what has been said in this, of the Count d'Aché's behaviour in the Indies, and of the assistance his squadron gave Count Lally's army. Count Lally does not insist on this refusal of the Count d'Aché to act against Madras, but because there was still time enough to repair the losses that the company had suffered by the inaction, in which Monsieur de Leyrit had, for eight months together, kept the Chevalier de Soupire.

G E N E R A L R E M A R K S.

After perusing these pieces, the public will, no doubt, be surpris'd, that Count Lally should be charged with the smallest share in the loss of Pondichery.

It was Father Lavour, whom the Council of Pondichery employed to draw up the representations made by the Council to the Count d'Aché. Count Lally has the minutes of them in the hand-writing of this father.

For five months together Count Lally had been struggling between life and death, and was constantly removing from one part of the country to another, to see what effect a change of air would have upon him. Monsieur de Leyrit speaks in these representations, as chief of the French settlements. They were carried to sign to Count Lally, then confined to his bed.

Is there a line, is there a word in these representations, which does not prove, that the Council, and the settlement in general, were under the strongest conviction, that the safety of Pondichery depended entirely on the Count d'Aché's squadron? It is by these pieces Count Lally desires to be heard. They cannot but dissipate

pate the odious prejudices, which calumny has endeavoured to raise against him.

Great, no doubt, must be the indignation of the public, when it hears, that those men, who have surprised its credulity by a multitude of infamous libels against Count Lally, are the very same, who have put their names to these acts against the Count d'Aché; when it hears, that these very men, after having thus vented their rage against Count Lally; after having acted against him as informers and accusers with the king and the ministry, have since had the face to appear as witnesses against him; that they are, in a word, those very men, who, in all their depositions, have not only agreed not so much as to mention the name of the Count d'Aché, though obliged to it by oath, on the complaints exhibited to the court, and ~~its decree~~ thereupon being read to them; but who have even affected to forget that the King had sent a squadron to the Indies. The reign of imposture is but short. Count Lally hopes, that justice will revenge him of the collusions of this cabal, and the calumnies with which it has been so long endeavouring to overwhelm him.



MEMOIRS

O F

COUNT LALLY.



A P P E N D I X.



SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE PROSECUTION CARRIED ON AGAINST COUNT LALLY, FROM HIS ARRIVAL IN FRANCE TO THE TIME OF HIS WRITING THE PRECEDING PIECES.

COUNT Lally took shipping at Madras the 10th of March, 1761; landed in England the 23d of September following; and on the 27th of the next month obtained leave to return to France. The first thing he did, after his arrival in France,

was

was to comply with his engagements, as commander and commissary for his majesty, and give an account of his conduct. He presented a faithful picture of the crimes and abuses, which had occasioned the loss of Pondichery, and which it was in his power to prove by authentic pieces. But answer was made him, that to undertake the examination and discussion of these different objects, it was necessary to wait the return of the Council of Pondichery. Nevertheless, the members of this Council, persuaded that Count Lally, when arrived in Europe, would lay open their misdeeds, had most carefully applied themselves to find out the means of warding off so terrible a blow. Excited by a spirit of revenge and the desire of impunity, they had availed themselves of the stay, allowed them in the Indies after the commander's departure, to forge ~~several~~ pieces, which were to serve as a basis to the blackest calumnies. Father Lavour presided at their meetings, and directed all their steps.

A verbal process of the taking of Pondichery, and what happened during last days of the blockade, and at the surrender of the place, holds the first rank amongst these clandestine pieces. It is said in this act, that it was passed in the house of Monsieur Law, and in the apartment of Monsieur de Leyrit. This verbal

process is subscribed by the Governor and Council of Pondichery; who, no doubt, meant to give more weight and authority to it, by getting it signed by Monsieur Mathon, Procurator of the Foreign Missions; brother Dominick, a Capuchin, and Apostolical Vicar; and Father Lavour, Superior of the Jesuits.

This piece is worthy of its authors and approvers. They alter the truth in it in every essential circumstance. They conceal and disguise such facts and papers as contribute to the justification of the General; and take a great deal of pains to gain belief to the infamous and scandalous reports, which the Council itself made it its business to propagate in Pondichery, with a view to persuade the inhabitants, that Count Lally wanted *to facilitate to the English the approaches necessary to assault the place, and give up all the inhabitants to be plundered and put to the sword.*

This verbal process was sent, the 12th of February 1761, to the Council of the Island of Mauritius, to be from thence forwarded to the Company. The authors of this scandalous piece have been since heard in testimony against Count Lally, and have left on record, in their depositions, all the lies it contains.

They

They, at the same time, drew up several other verbal processes relative to the events, which had happened in the Indies, during Count Lally's residence there. These works of darkness, the dates of which are more than liable to suspicion, and which never appeared any where but in Europe, betray, every one of them, the spirit by which they were dictated.

But the Cabal did not confine itself to the drawing up of these obscure pieces. The enemies of Count Lally had formed the horrid project of blackening him, if possible, in the eyes of the whole universe, by charging him at once, with cowardice and treachery. For this purpose, the Council of Pondichery engaged the Governor of Madras to print and publish a Manifesto, setting forth his motives for demolishing the fortifications and houses of Pondichery.

To this piece were added several others relating to the blockade of Pondichery ; and, likewise, the declaration Count Lally sent to Colonel Coote before the surrender of that place ; the answer of the English General to that declaration ; and the separate representations of Monsieur de Leyrit and Father Lavour, to prevent the destruction of Pondichery. This Jesuit took upon him to see

that the work was properly printed; and even supplied the English with printers and a printing-house.

In the margin of Count Lally's declaration, which is one of the pieces contained in this collection, are several calumnious notes against him. The mention made in the beginning of it of the taking of Chandernagor, as a violation of the treatises of neutrality, is stiled *low and weak*. They accuse him, in the following notes, of having surrendered the town at discretion, without endeavouring to obtain any favourable conditions for the inhabitants. Nay, they carry their impudence to such a height as to affirm, that favourable conditions would have been granted to him, had he asked a capitulation *before the trenches were opened; and even afterwards, had he only made a shew to defend himself one or two days longer.*

How is it possible, after the faithful account given of the circumstances of the capitulation, not to lose patience at the flight of this note-maker's imposture? Is it not enough to recollect what has been incontestably proved by authentic pieces? 1st. That Count Lally did all that lay in his power to forward the holding of a mixt council, in order to deliberate seriously on a capitulation,

pitulation, whilst it was possible to obtain any tolerable conditions. 2dly. That the Council of Pondichery, considering this step which Count Lally advised, as too hasty and precipitate, thought proper to wait to the last extremity, and declared this their opinion and resolution to him in express terms. 3dly. That this fatal moment being arrived, the General assembled a council of war composed of the commanders of all the several corps, who approved the capitulation by opinions written and signed by themselves, and containing their motives for thinking of it as they did; and even acknowledged, that the place was at the last gasp, and had no kind of subsistence left. 4thly. That, in these critical moments, and when it was impossible to hold out any longer, Count Lally required for the garrison and the inhabitants every thing, that the circumstances of the place left him any pretext to insist upon. What, therefore, are we to think of the author of these notes, who has thus dared to misrepresent well known facts; facts, which the Count has produced a multitude of writings to establish?

The representations addressed by Monsieur de Leyrit to the Governor of Madras wear equal marks of falsehood and deceit. He, in them, has the face to advance, that Count

Lally wrote to Colonel Coote, who commanded the English troops, to invite him to come the day following and take possession of our place. Monsieur de Leyrit puts several captious questions in the same paper, by way, he must be sensible, of fishing for such answers, as might authorize the informations of the council of Pondichery against the French General.

But all these machinations, far from producing the advantage which their authors hoped to derive from them, have only served to throw new light upon Count Lally's defence. Three things ought to be allowed him as unquestionably established, even by the words of the Manifesto published by the Council of Madras.

The first is, that, whatever conditions might have been required, and even obtained from Colonel Coote, the sparing of the fortifications of Pondichery could not possibly have been of the number. The decree for that purpose had been irrevocably pronounced by the English Company. This appears plainly by the Manifesto, which contains the speech of the Governor of Madras to the Council of Pondichery. *We shall now, said Mr. Pigot, lay before you the orders we have received from the Directors of the Company we serve. Behold in what terms they express themselves. If*

IT SHOULD EVER BE YOUR GOOD FOTUNE TO TAKE ANY OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS, WE GIVE YOU POSITIVE ORDERS TO RAZE THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THEM.

A second point equally unquestionable is, that the Manifesto, and the pieces annexed to it, radically destroy the infamous suspi-
 cion, which the Council of Pondichery has since endeavoured to establish, of an understanding between Count Lally and the English. To be convinced of this, one need only read the answer made to the representations of Father Lavour by Monsieur Dupré, appointed Governor of Pondichery since the taking of the place. They contain the bitterest complaints of Count Lally's harshness to such of the English as had fallen into his hands, and of the rigorous treatment he was resolved to give the rest; *in case* he had succeeded in his enterprizes against them. *I could alledge,* these are the very words of the English Governor, *the harsh usage it appears they were to receive; I could lay before you, as proofs of your General's rigour, numberless instances of the severity, I might call it cruelty, with which he has treated such of my countrymen as had the misfortune to come under his power, &c.*

These so violent exclamations against Count Lally's behaviour are evidently irreconcilable with the horrid suspicions of correspondence with the enemy and of treason, invented by his enemies in support of a desperate cause, and when they found, that all the informations, in which they charged him with embezzlement, were destroyed by irresistible evidence.

3dly, In fine. It is proved by the same Manifesto, that the English had formed the project of making themselves masters of the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon. The conquest of these settlements was recommended *in the strongest terms to the secret Committee of Madras*, by a letter of the 23d of November 1759. It even appears, that, at the time this letter was written, they took it for granted in London, that their forces were in possession of Pondichery. But, by its holding out to the last extremity, they did not get possession of it till the 16th of January 1761; when it was too late for the English to execute any enterprize on the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; and thus, in consequence of this long resistance, these precious establishments, which will ever remain the key to the Indies, have been preserved to France.

Besides

Besides these acts, of which we have been giving an account, the Council of Pondichery, before its departure from that place, wrote a great many letters to Paris, in which Count Lally was painted in the blackest colours. The authors of the Cabal engaged the Viscount de Fumel, who had openly declared against Count Lally, to write likewise, and in the same stile. All these libels, containing the most shocking pictures of Count Lally, were addressed to Monsieur de Buffy, who took care to have them circulated in Paris, in order to prepare the way for greater impostures, and create a general indignation against that commander.

As soon as the members of the Council of Pondichery arrived in London, they thought proper to send before them to Paris Monsieur Landivisiau, with orders to rail against Count Lally to the utmost of his power; and he played his part perfectly well. The court and city soon resounded with his cries. Many persons can still remember the excesses to which he suffered his passion to carry him; and, particularly, the following words, which he was not afraid to utter publicly at Fontainebleau, "That either he or Count Lally must come to the block." But his presumption

tion failing him, he lowered his note on the trial. It may even be said, that, on this occasion, he made some kind of reparation to Count Lally, by declaring in his deposition, and at his confrontation, that he did not mean to infer from the facts he had mentioned any kind of treason in the General. The progress of this defamation was extremely rapid. It was levelled equally at the civil and military conduct of Count Lally.

Count Lally spared no pains to dissipate entirely the scandalous reports spread against him. He offered to justify, as far as it could be expected, all his operations in the Indies. But he was told, that these matters could not be examined till the Council of Pondichery was returned.

At length, this Council arrived in Paris. It is impossible to describe the number and variety of the intrigues put in practice in this city by these slanderers and their emissaries. Frequent assemblies, in which they contrived and agreed upon the most odious imputations against Count Lally; anonymous libels, in which these abominations were recorded; such were the methods, to which they had recourse to impose upon the public and the stock-holders. Father Lavour, who had so well
served

served this cabal of slanderers in the Indies, was their Council and Director in Paris.

It is proper to take notice, in this place, of an important anecdote, by which the perfidy and duplicity of Father Lavaur may be clearly seen. He composed in the Indies two different memoirs. The first extolled Count Lally to the skies; the second was a defamatory libel against him. We can name one person in particular, by whom the first was seen in the Indies; it is the Marquis de Montmorenci; and this nobleman can assert, that it spoke very favourably of the first expeditions of Count Lally, of which the Marquis himself was a witness. It is probable, that one or the other only of these Memoirs was to make its appearance as circumstances should require. The commodious doctrine, which permits the supporting of contraries, never received a more happy application.

When this Jesuit was sure of the progress of the Cabal, and of the almost universal odium it had excited in Paris against Count Lally, he no longer hesitated to side openly with the slanderers. Extracts of his libel were dispersed. Nay, the whole work was given to some persons, and Count Lally contrived to get a copy of it, which he presented

tended to the Minister of the finances, who at first seemed to approve the complaint which he intended to exhibit; but, notwithstanding, ordered him to stop his proceedings and promised to do him justice.

In the mean time, Count Lally's enemies took advantage of his steady silence to gain credit to their impostures. They found it an easy matter to enlist in their service about fifty officers or servants of the company, whom interest rendered dependent upon them. Many of these officers and servants of the Company were, besides, personally exasperated against Count Lally, either because he had attempted to put a stop to the malpractices of some of them in their civil employments, or found himself under a necessity of inflicting military punishments on others for military offences. They assembled very exactly in a private house, which served them for a place of rendezvous. Here the several actors, who were to appear on the stage against him, received their parts. At the issue of these conferences they spread themselves over the coffee houses, the public walks, and all the other places of general resort in Paris, where they boldly uttered falsehoods, which it was not in the power of any one to contradict. They even raised a mob, which had the impudence to insult Count Lally
under

under his windows; infomuch that he was obliged to have recourse to public authority to put a stop to these disorders. It is, nevertheless, the authors of all these doings, who have been since admitted to give evidence against him.

In spite of the gross contradictions into which many of them have fallen, it is plain, that it could be only to execute a formal conspiracy, that so great a number of informers united against him. It is even certain that most of their depositions are but mere extracts from Father Lavour's Memoirs, which are, as it were, the dictionary of all the calumnies uttered in the course of this prosecution.

The Council of Pondichery, after having put so many springs in motion to raise a general clamour against Count Lally, thought they might now venture upon an attempt of another order, by declaring themselves publicly the accusers of this Commander. They presented the Minister of the Finances a Memorial containing the most grievous imputations against him, and accompanied with a letter, in which they declared, *that the Council and the wretched settlement of the Indies were, from first to last, crushed under the authority of a despotic master, who had been ever a stranger to all the laws of PRUDENCE, HONOUR,*

AND

AND EVEN HUMANITY; adding, that Count Lally, was, alone, accountable for the whole Stewardship and administration, as well of the interior as the exterior concerns of the Company; and, likewise, for all the revenues of the lands and territories possessed by the Company; ----- that he was accountable for the loss of Pondichery, since it had surrendered merely for want of provisions, and he alone had in his hands the means of supplying it; viz. money to purchase them; the fruits of the Company's lands; the produce of the Company's crops; and troops, withal, to protect them.

The Council, as if all these facts had been proved to be true, which, however, have been since proved false by written evidence, promised to clear up and establish many others; and made use of these words: *You will not find in our Memorial, my Lord, a detail of all the sums he remitted to Europe by the hands of the Danes, the Dutch, and even the English. This will appear hereafter. We have made it a law with ourselves not to mention any facts in this Memorial, but such as are clearly made out.*

In fine, the Council reserved to itself to draw an historical picture of his military operations; affirming, that there were nine capital articles which proved something more than mere want of capacity.

It is to be observed, that these slanderous imputations relate chiefly to extortions and embezzlements said to be committed by Count Lally. But, if the innocence of his conduct is established by unquestionable proofs in writing, most of which too are the work of those who accuse him; if there is not to be found, in the voluminous report of the enquiry made into his conduct, the slightest trace of the extortion laid to his charge; if, on the contrary, this report makes equally evident both his probity and disinterestedness, and the criminal misconduct of his adversaries; what judgment ought the public to form of a Cabal of impostors, who have conspired to propagate such infamous falsehoods? In what light must his judges consider the promise made, four years ago, by those who have informed against him, but which has not as yet been, and never will be, made good, to produce an account of the sums which he remitted to Europe by the hands of the Danes, the Dutch, and even the English? What indignation can be adequate to such black and wicked impostures?

The libel, which contained them, was only a recrimination formed and supported by the slanderers, to divert the thunder ready to light on their own heads, and to escape

cape the prosecution, with which they themselves were threatened. They knew that Count Lally had long since given information of their misconduct; and offered to exhibit the proofs of it. The Directors had communicated to them the Memorials relating to it, which they had received from Count Lally. They had examined them at their leisure; and, in order to elude an enquiry, the consequences of which they had so much reason to fear, they imputed to the Count the self-same excesses, of which he had accused themselves and had it in his power to convict them.

It was in consequence of this system they maintained, that Count Lally was, alone, accountable for all the money that had been brought from Europe, as well as the revenues of the settlement, and the whole of the effects laid up in the magazines.

But one need only read Count Lally's letters to the company, and the papers he exhibits, to be convinced, that the Council was accused, and even convicted, of these embezzlements, with which they reproach Count Lally with equal rashness and falsehood; that all these disorders proceeded from a vicious administration, which had subsisted a long time before Count Lally set his foot in the Indies, and the proofs of which the
Company

Company had under its eyes, in the registers and accounts of its treasurers. Add, that the Council, in imputing to Count Lally alone the loss of the Indies, contradicted itself, since it had maintained in the national protest, which has been cited, that the Count d'Aché, by abandoning the coast, had rendered himself alone answerable for all the misfortunes of the settlement.

The members of the Council, encouraged by the success of these their first proceedings against Count Lally, presented a petition to the King, beseeching his Majesty to appoint the tribunal, in which a criminal prosecution might be carried on against him. Count Lally was at the same time informed, that they had obtained an order for confining him in the Bastille. The liberty he still enjoyed alarmed his enemies. They apprehended, that, as long as he was in the way of being informed of their intrigues and sinister practices, he might too easily find means to baffle them. Count Lally, though thus timely warned of the disgrace which they were preparing for him, took no pains to avoid it. On the contrary, preferring a confinement, the rigour of which he foresaw without suspecting the length of it, to a flight, which those, who informed against him, would, no doubt, have construed into

a tacit acknowledgement of the justice of their imputations, he repaired to Fontainebleau, in the month of November 1762, and there did himself the honour to write the Duke de Choiseul the following letter, in which one may easily discover the language of innocence and truth, and that noble confidence, which a blameless conduct alone can inspire.

“ My Lord,

The rumours, which prevail in Paris, have brought me here. My enemies will never be able to terrify me, since I depend on my own innocence, and am sensible of your equity. The King is master of my liberty, but my honour is under the safeguard of the laws, of which he is the protector. I do not ask you, my Lord, who are my slanderers; I know them; but what their slanders are, that I may obviate them, and repel them with such proofs, as will cover the authors of them with shame. I have brought here my head and my innocence, and shall continue here to wait your orders.

I am &c.”

This is not, we insist upon it, the stile of a man, who had forgot himself so far, as to commit extortion and betray his country.

try. However, Count Lally was arrested, and conducted to the Bastille. His confinement was matter of triumph to his enemies, who, upon it, became more clamorous than ever. They advanced in their clandestine Memoirs, that Count Lally's military conduct proved *something more than mere want of capacity*.

But they soon openly impeached him of *High Treason*. Their emissaries propagated this calumny, and even went so far as to calculate the millions he had received for betraying Pondichery.

Fifteen months elapsed before Count Lally was interrogated. And all this time he was kept in the dark in regard to the tribunal, to which he might have recourse to confound his slanderers. But the death of Father Lavour put an end to his suspense. Monsieur l'Abbé Terray, the Parliament's Commissary, in taking an inventory of this Jesuit's papers, found amongst them the defamatory libel of his, which we have so often mentioned. This libel was put into the hands of the Attorney General, who exhibited a charge against Count Lally of extortion, oppression, abuse of authority, and even *High Treason*. An arret was thereupon issued, which referred the prosecution to the

Chatelet, with a reservation of the customary right of appeal to the supreme Court.

The Lieutenant-Criminel took some depositions. But it was considered, on the one hand, that an affair, which contained details of the greatest extent, ought not to be left to two degrees of jurisdiction; and, on the other hand, that, Count Lally having first exhibited complaints against those very persons who had now impeached him, it was proper to set on foot a general enquiry into all the crimes and abuses, which might have contributed to the loss of the Indies. Accordingly, a commission issued the 12th of January 1764, by which the King, “ assuming to himself, as far as there might be occasion, the complaints already exhibited, and the proceedings already had thereupon, referred to the Great Chamber fully assembled the cognizance of all the crimes and abuses, which might have been committed in the East Indies, relative to the Government and Trade of the India Company, as well before as since the sending of the troops there under Count Lally, in order that the said crimes and abuses, with all their circumstances and dependencies, may be enquired into in the said Great Chamber at the suit of the Attorney General, and the

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prosecution for them there carried on and terminated against the PERSONS GUILTY THEREOF, THEIR ACCOMPLICES, AND ADHERENTS, ACCORDING TO THE RIGOUR OF THE LAWS."

The motive for issuing this commission, sufficiently evident in itself, is thus expressed in the preamble. "As in a great number of Memorials presented to us..... it has been set forth, that these so numerous, and, at the same time, so fatal losses, had been occasioned by embezzlements, extortions, misapplications of the public money,..... our justice requires, that these delinquencies should be judicially inquired into,"

Thus, as it appears by the very terms of this Commission, the object of it was merely to discover the crime, by whomsoever it might have been committed. It was not levelled at any particular person; it was to take in *all the crimes and abuses, in general, committed in the East Indies, relative to the Government and Trade of the Company, as well before as since the sending of the troops there under Count Lally,*

On the 12th of July 1764, a new Commission issued, importing, *at the same time that it directed that of the 12th, of the preceding month*

month of January to be carried into execution, that the prosecution begun by the Lieutenant-Crimine . . . should be continued, carried on, and terminated, as well against Count Lally, as against his accomplices, &c.

The first Commission of the 12th of January 1764, is referred to in the preamble of this second Commission; and it is added; “ the King has been since informed, that, so early as the 6th of July 1763, the Attorney General had observed, on occasion of several pieces found at Father Lavour’s, that there might result from some of the said pieces against le Sieur de Lally a great number of facts of the greatest importance, and reduceable to certain heads, such as abuses of authority, misdemeanours, extortions, embezzlements, and other crimes, even of High Treason; that he had exhibited a complaint thereof, of which he had act by the Arret of the 6th of July 1763, which referred to the Chatelet the prosecution of the said Sieur de Lally, his accomplices and adherents, . . . that, in execution thereof, several witnesses had been heard by the Lieutenant-Criminel; and that it appears necessary, that these proceedings should be likewise continued, carried on, and terminated, in execution of the Commission of the 12th of January 1764, as well against the said Sieur de Lally, as his accomplices, &c.”

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This last Commission enjoins, by a special clause, the execution of the first. But it is absolutely necessary to observe, that these judicial proceedings have been confined to the imputations against Count Lally and his pretended accomplices. No enquiries have been made into the abuses, of which he had himself first complained; and which prevailed in the Indies, as well before as since the sending of troops there under his command. These abuses had been committed by several of the persons employed by the Company in its settlements; most of whom, after making their depositions, returned to these settlements, with certificates attesting that nothing could be laid to their charge. This advantage they would never have enjoyed, if, conformably to the first Commission, the prosecution had been carried on against them; since, in that case, the proofs, which Count Lally could produce against most of them, would have laid the Judges under a necessity of issuing warrants to apprehend them. Thus Count Lally, a man honoured with the titles of Commander and King's Commissary, was the first to give information of crimes and abuses, which he offered to establish by point-blank proofs. But no regard was paid to his information. He has, alone, experienced the rigour of a prosecution; and this

prosecution had no other foundation than a recrimination contrived by his enemies. A address'd to the Ministry by the Council of Pondichery; an anonymous libel found amongst Father Lavour's papers; such have been the foundation of a criminal prosecution carried on against a Lieutenant General of the King's armies; for accusing him of extortion, and even endeavouring to fix upon him *a suspicion of High Treason*.

The charge of extortion left him a right in law to claim the assistance of Council; and such assistance was never more requisite, considering the immense extent of the object; considering that the proceedings were rather literal than vocal; and that the accused was obliged to collect, combine, and produce a vast number of pieces tending to his justification, most of which lay scattered here and there in several places. But these words, *even of High Treason*, inserted in the impeachment, imported the suspicion of a crime, which the letter of the law does not comprehend in the number of those, relatively to which a communication with Council is allowed; so that Count Lally has not as yet been able to obtain so precious a privilege. The involving of him in proceedings of such an extraordinary nature, and the
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subjecting of him to a rigorous confinement, was not enough to satiate the malice and vengeance of his enemies. But, by impeaching him as suspected of *High Treason*, they thus endeavoured to deprive him, if possible, even of the means of defending himself.

But, though Count Lally has been refused the comfort of conferring with Council, he has, while the Attorney General was collecting proofs against him, been allowed the use of pen, ink and paper. He has devoted, to the exposition of the many facts and proofs in his favour, the dismal leisure procured him by a forced solitude. Very exact notes, taken by him immediately after his long confrontations and interrogatories, have enabled his defenders to repel the shafts of calumny, and establish his innocence.

Add to this, that the informers against Count Lally, even those who had signed the petition, beseeching the King to name the tribunal in which they might prosecute him, have been heard in justice against him. From accused, which they were in the beginning, they became accusers; and not satisfied with this first transformation, they have since appeared in the shape of witnesses. What is more, these depositions of theirs are, for the most part,

volumes

volumes composed in such a stile, and put together in such an order, as necessarily suppose a very remote preparation. Many of these witnesses appeared with papers in their hands, which they faithfully followed in their narratives. 'The proceedings in' the Chatelet contain an acknowledgment of this important fact. Now, what more conclusive proof can there be of the existence of that conspiracy, against which Count Lally has never ceased to cry out? A witness ought to declare the truth, as it occurs to him the moment he declares it; and is to know nothing of the facts concerning which he is to be examined, till the moment he is examined. How then should he, on pretence of assisting his memory, be permitted to present himself with a ready prepared deposition; to substitute a studied libel to the extempore declaration required of him; and to give an answer, as it were, to questions before they are asked? But it is impossible, that imposture should not betray itself one way or another. Though the informers have agreed with each other in several of their lies, they have, in others of them, been guilty of such palpable blunders and contradictions, as should be alone sufficient entirely to invalidate their testimony. It is what we propose to demonstrate in another place,

place, in which every head of accusation shall be separately and successively discussed. But we think it first requisite to exhibit the general defence arising from the joint consideration of those facts, of which we have already given an account.

GENERAL DEFENCE OF COUNT LALLY.

This defence may be reduced to two principal points. 1st. That the witnesses, who have deposed against Count Lally, are totally unworthy of credit; from which it follows, that their declarations cannot constitute any proof. 2d. That the facts, which have been exhibited, demonstrate an absolute inexistence of the *Corpus Delicti*.

To establish the first of these propositions, it is thought proper to cite some fundamental ideas, which Judges should never lose sight of, when the life and honour of a subject are at stake. The laws, which have enacted different formalities in the prosecution of crimes, have likewise multiplied the precautions for guarding innocence against the attacks of calumny. A criminal prosecution is, in itself, one of the greatest misfortunes, that can befall

befall a subject. This is the idea the Roman Legislators had of it *. Persuaded, that it was dying twice to lose one's reputation, they were very far from authorising indiscriminately all the accusations which tended to deprive the subject of so great a blessing. Before they proceeded on the accusation, they allowed the accused to oppose what they called a prejudicial exception. This exception consisted in examining, if the accuser had really a right to appear in that character. When he had not the qualities required by the law to intitle him to credit, he was rejected †. It is by a deduction from these principles, that all the Crown-Law writers in the world decide, that persons accused are at liberty to employ all the means approved of by the Law,

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* *Primo enim, quoniam Romani nihil præstantius putabant quam integrum esse vitæ, scelerisque purum, adeo ut bis illis mori videretur qui famam amisisset, admodum providi erant in hujusmodi causis quæ tantum ponderis habebant, ut Romani civis caput, vel fama in discrimen veniret* † - - - non quemvis ad accusandum proflire patiebantur, ne effrænata accusandi licentia in calumniam abiret. Boehmer. exercitat. 32. ad libr. 44. Pandect. de exceptione præjudiciali, cap. 2. §. 5.

† *Hinc eam ipsam ob causam repellebantur à foris servi, famæ maculâ seu calumniâ notati, judicio publico damnati, & qui sunt ejusmodi farinæ homines : quod si igitur quis ex horum numero in jus vocasset aliquem, hic, antequam ejus nomen inter reos deferretur, præjudicium postulare poterat de accusatoris statu quo clarum fieret utrum illi accusare liceret necne.* Boeh-

in order to avoid the horrors of a criminal prosecution *.

These Legislators, who in receiving accusations observed such reserve, were not less scrupulous as to the nature of the proofs which followed them. They did not consider any declarations as worthy of that name, but such as comprehended all the characters of that evidence, which forces consent, and which no reasonable mind can resist. This is the express import of a famous law, the due observance of which cannot fail of being to the subject an assured defence against the attacks of calumny. *Sciunt cuncti accusatores eam se rem deferre in publicam notionem debere quæ munita sit idoneis testibus, vel instructa apertissimis documentis, vel indiciis ad probationem indubitatis, et luce clarioribus expedita.* L. 25. cod. de probat.

Thus, in the terms of this law, it is not suspicions; it is not conjectures; it is not simple presumptions; which, in criminal matters, should determine the Judges to condemn the accused.

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* *Quare & quotquot sunt rerum criminalium scriptores uno ore suadent omnes reo vias esse aperiendas, quibus quantum fieri possit, declinare queat atque evitare inquisitionis incommoda funestissima, quibus ullâ ex parte, fama, vita, corpus, & facultates ipsius effici possunt.* Boehmer. ibid. §. 8.

There must be proofs sufficient to create that moral certainty, upon which alone judicial decisions ought to be founded. The Jurisconsults of all civilized nations have done homage to this truth, which flows directly from the mere light of reason *. Now, the principal proofs brought against the accused being generally grounded on the depositions of witnesses, it follows from these established principles, that the authority of depositions ought to be weighed with the most scrupulous attention. *In testimoniis dignitas, fides, mores, gravitas examinanda est.* L. 2. §. de testibus. Judicial decisions are considered as truth itself. How, then, can they be built upon declarations made by men liable to suspicion, or unworthy of credit? Accordingly, it is universally acknowledged, that the first and most indispensibly requisite condition for the admission of witnesses is, that they should be irreproachable, and above all suspicion †. Judges are to lay no stress
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* *Majoris causæ requiritur majoritas probationis, sintque adde probationes certæ ut non possit persuaderi contrarium.* Mornac, sur la Loi 25. cod. de probat.

Nemo unquam condemnandus per præsumptiones. Moliæus ad Leg. favorabiliores de Reg. Juris.

Pessimum & periculosum est quemquam judicare de suspitione. Boehmer. loc. cit. §. 6.

† *Regulam multò magis procedere in criminalibus in quibus nadtum testes idoneos, sed etiam omni exceptione majores requiri.* Farinacius, de testibus, tit. 6, quæst. 62. n. 20 & 22.

on their declarations, unless they have a certainty of both these points, 1. That they have had an opportunity of knowing the truth; 2. That they intend to declare it. It is by the light of these principles that we may determine the degree of credit any testimony is entitled to, and the nature of the exceptions, to which it is liable *.

If the deposition is inspired by the interest the witness may have in giving it; if there are the justest motives to believe, that it is the effect of enmity, and a desire of revenge; if, independent of these peremptory exceptions, the declaration, considered in itself, carries evident marks of imposture; the Magistrates should treat it as an information worthy of contempt, or rather express their indignation against the person who gives it. Self-interest, and the advantage a witness may have in the success of the prosecution, are the most decisive reasons a person accused can alledge to invalidate the testimony of those, who appear against him †.

Authors

* *Non aliter enim certa nostro animo ingenerari potest opinio et fides, quam si constat, tum quod possit testis veritatem facti referre, tum etiam quod vera dicere velit, ex quibus duobus principiis fides testibus conciliatur, ut plene in judicis quibuscumque probare queant.* Boelmer. loc. cit. §. 2.

† *Testis habens in causa interesse commodum vel incommodum, repellitur a testimonio d'cendo - - - - - multo magis in criminalibus*

Authors mention several cases, in which the interest of the party deposing should oblige the Judges to reject his testimony. If, in declaring facts which make against the accused, he has taken pains to clear himself of any suspicion; if he has had in view to distinguish himself; to acquire glory; to avoid shame; or, in fine, to secure himself from any considerable loss; it is evident that no proof can result from his deposition *. And, indeed, according to established principles, no fact is to be taken for proved, till it plainly appears that the witness, who deposes to such fact, had an opportunity of knowing the truth; and has a real intention to declare it. Now, far from there being this so essential a certainty in the case before us, the interest of the witnesses is sufficiently evident to convince the Magistrates, that they do not speak for the interest of truth.

Hence

nalibus, in quibus cum certum sit in jure probationes requiri exactiores & lucidiores quam in civilibus, hoc ideo ratione commodi & interesse testem repelli a iustificando, & admissum nec etiam facere indicium. Farinacius, tit. 6. quæst. 60. n. 4 & 5.

* *Amplius, ut de commodo & interesse testis agi dicatur, non solum quando tractatur de illius exculpatione & exoneratione --- sed etiam si tractatur de consequendo honorem & laudem, vel de vitando dedecus & vituperium, hoc enim casu testis examinatus nihil probat. Farinacius, tit. 6. quæst. 60. n. 21.*

Hence that general rule taught by all the Jurisconsults, that the accuser is not to be heard in judgment against the accused. It would be, according to the Doctors, the absurdest thing in the world.* When the accused establishes his innocence; the accuser is liable to make good to the accused the costs of the suit, and all the other damages attending the calumny. He, therefore, has the most powerful motives for wishing, that the accused may be cast; for which reason alone his declarations against the accused deserve no credit.

It is the same thing with regard to the informer, who, without becoming a civil party in the affair, stirs up the public minister to prosecute an accusation. The same reason of incapacity forbids any credit to be given to his deposition. It is evidently his interest, that the accused should be declared guilty, because, if he should be declared innocent, the person, whoever he is, who has been the instigator of the criminal prosecution carried on against him, can-

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* *Propterea accusatorem contra accusatum recipi in resem valdè absurdum reputatur in jure..... pudet contra omnem æquitatem eosdem ad testimonia contra miserios ferendâ producere quos prius habuerant delatores. Farinacius, ibid. n. 64.*

Ejus depositio contra accusatum nullum prorsus faciat indicium. id. n. 65.

not hope to escape the pains and penalties enacted against slanderous informers.

That the testimony of an informer is inadmissible on account of his personal interest in the success of the information, is a point that may be established by a cloud of authorities. Nay, it would be sufficient to set forth the recourse, which the laws have allowed the accused, if acquitted, against the informers, because it from thence alone infallibly results, that no regard is to be paid to the testimony of informers. It is enacted, in express terms, by an ordinance of the year 1304, that the names of the informers shall be entered in a particular book, and that they shall, if convicted of calumny, be punished by the judges. * It is enacted by a posterior law, that no informations shall be received, till the informer has given security for the payment of the costs, damages, and interests, which the party accused may, if acquitted, have a right to expect. † At present, indeed, Informers are dispensed from
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* *Accusatoris, vel denuntiatoris nomen in inscriptione ponatur, & si calumniatur reperiatur, ad cognitionem Senescalli, vel Judicis puniatur.* Ordinance of Philip VI. anno 1304.

† *Denuntiator non admittatur nisi prius de damnis refundendis idoneam cautionem dederit.* This law was made in 1328.

the obligation to give this security ; but it is certain, that the informations ought still to be taken in writing. * It is formally enacted by the Ordinance of 1670, title 3. article 6. *Our attorneys and those of the Peers shall keep a register to receive and enter the informations, which shall be circumstantial and signed by the informer, if he can write. And it is added in the seventh article, that both Accusers and INFORMERS, where accusations and informations shall appear to be ill-grounded, shall be obliged to make good the costs, damages, and interests of the accused, and even incur greater pains and penalties, if the case should require it: which is, likewise, to be observed in regard to those, who have made themselves parties, even though they should have afterwards desisted, in*

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case

* The Custom of requiring security from Informers was not revived by the Ordinance of 1670. Nevertheless, at the drawing up of the verbal Process of this law, the Attorney General and Monsieur Puffort took notice, that, though the precaution of requiring security from the Informer made no part of the ordinance, it became the prudence and wisdom of the Attorney General and his substitutes to enquire into the quality of the Informers and the nature of their informations, and to require security from them to make good, in case of calumny, their damages and interests to the parties accused. Verbal Process, on the 6th article of the 3d tit. of the ordinance of 1670. p. 67.

case the complaints exhibited by them shall be found to be slanderous.

Thus, the laws make no difference between the accuser and the informer, in regard to the subjecting them to pains and penalties, in case the accusation appears to be slanderous. They say, that the information shall be written and signed by the informer; and the necessary consequence of this precaution is, to secure to persecuted innocence the reparation it has a right to expect. All these injunctions owe their rise to that great principle; that the honour of the subject is, as well as his fortune, under the safe-guard of the laws.

But, if the informer is equally liable with the accuser to be condemned to pay costs, damages, and interests, when convicted of calumny in the course of the proceedings; it must infallibly follow, that the same motives, for which the deposition of the accuser is to be rejected, form an insurmountable obstacle to the informer's being admitted as a witness. The decision ought to be the same in all cases, in which the motives for deciding are the same. Now, the interests of the Informer and the Accuser being equal in regard to the consequences of the accusation,

sation, what can we infer from thence, but that they equally lose the right of deposing.

All the authorities, which set aside the testimony of the Accuser, tend equally to set aside the testimony of the Informer. Nothing more is requisite, than that it should be clear, on the one hand, that the Accuser cannot be a witness against the accused; and on the other hand, that the Informer, in case of calumny, is liable to very great pains and penalties; * to conclude, that their testimony is equally inadmissible in the accusations, to which they

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have

(1) Imbert, book iii. chap. 1. n. 7. explains himself thus: *When the Attorney General happens to be the only party, and has been instigated by other persons to lay the accusation, the accused, if acquitted, may have his recourse for costs, damages, and interests, against the instigator; and for this purpose the King's Council are bound, on the judge's acquitting the accused, to make known to him, if he requires it, the names of the instigators.*

Mafuer, tit. de questionibus in praxi, says, *And, if the informer has falsely informed and impeached, he shall be liable to be called to an account for it, and be condemned to pay costs, damages, and interests, to the party, against whom he informed.*

The Ordinance of 1750 imports, Article 73. *Our Attorney; and High Justices shall be bound to name, if there-to required, the informer, after the person accused has been judicially acquitted, that he may have recourse on him for his costs, damages, and interests.*

have given rise. To prove the personal interest of a witness in the issue of any cause, is to demonstrate his incapacity to depose in the cause in which he is so interested.

The justness of this consequence is so evident, as to be acknowledged by all the best writers on criminal affairs. Julius Clarus considers the Informer and the Accuser in the same light; and lays it down as a maxim, that the depositions of both are to be equally rejected. He cites, in support of his opinion, several Jurisconsults * La Combe † establishes the same maxim. *An Informer cannot be a witness in the cause in which he is an Informer, as a civil party cannot be a witness in the criminal suit which he carries on.* This is clearly acknowledging the exact party between the Accuser and the Informer, and the perfect conformity of their interests in the accusation set on foot by them. A Jurisconsult already cited, who has thrown a great deal of light upon all these questions which relate to the authority of witnesses, decides, that

(*) *Julius Clarus, lib. 5. §. finali, quæst. 7, ad additiones, n. 2. Baldus in terminis, in capite omni, col. 2. de testibus regulam constituit quod omnino accusator, querelans & denunciator à testificando repellantur.*

† *Treatise of Criminal Matters, part 3. chap. 1. §. 5.*

that the testimony of an Informer, though of the highest rank, cannot be admitted as a proof; nay, he adds, that it does not form so much as a presumption. *Nec facit indicium contra accusatum, etiamsi fuerit princeps, vel nobilissima persona. - - - Etiamsi sint plures et unus tantummodo, tanquam magis idoneus, fuerit electus. **

If, therefore, this consideration alone, namely the Accuser's being answerable for costs, damages, and interests, is sufficient invincibly to set aside his testimony, how is it possible that of an Informer should be received? The only difference between an information and an accusation, with regard to the reparations which the accused has a right to require, is, that, the information being secret, and the accused, of course, stabbed by the Informer, as by an invisible hand, the law punishes the treachery of the Informer with so much the greater severity. †

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* *Farinacius in suis questionibus criminalibus, quæst. 60. n. 64.*

† This results from the third law of the Theodosian Code, tit. *de Calumniatoribus*. *Innocentes sub specie falsæ criminacionis non patimur callidorum impugnatione subverti: qui si tentaverint, intelligant sibi met severitatem legum pro commissis facinoribus incumbere.*

These maxims are susceptible of a very striking application in this case, in which there are two well established facts. The first, that all the Members of the Council of Pondichery have been admitted to give evidence against Count Lally. The second, that they had previously acted against him in the capacity of informers, by presenting to the Minister a Memorial of their own signing, in which they charged him with the most grievous crimes, and beseeched the Minister to name a tribunal, in which they might prosecute him. Messieurs Moracin, de la Selle, Lenoir, Denys, Nicolas, Duplan, Courtin, and, in general, all the Members of the Council of Pondichery have been admitted as witnesses. Now they have all owned, at their confrontation with him, that they had signed the above Memorial, which contained different informations against Count Lally. They, therefore, unite these two qualities, which we have demonstrated incompatible, that of Informer and that of Witness.

What credit can be due to witnesses, who have the most sensible interest in the success of the accusation? If all the laws conspire not to acknowledge any witnesses as worthy of credit, especially in criminal matters, except such as are entirely irreproachable, *omni exceptione majores*; if it is absolutely requisite

sité, that they should be above all suspicion, to create that certainty, which alone ought to serve as a basis to judicial determinations, how is it possible to consider, as proofs of an accusation, declarations made by the accusers themselves? Those who declare themselves informers must know, that, by the mere act of informing, they expose themselves to all the pains and penalties enacted against defamers. They must, therefore, be ready to do all that in them lies to secure to themselves impunity; and it is precisely this consideration which destroys their testimony.

But the objection founded upon the quality of an informer is greatly strengthened, where particular motives of hatred and revenge have inspired the information as well as the deposition.

It is not to be doubted, * but that enmity, when well proved, renders a testimony inadmissible. * Now the sentiments of hatred and fury, which in this affair animate a-
against

* *Cum testes debeant esse omni exceptione majores idcirco quælibet inimicitia etiam levis, illos repellit à testificando.* Farinacius, *de testibus*, tit. 6. q. 53. n. 53. La Loi 3. ff. *de testibus*, contains an enumeration of the exceptions that may be taken against witnesses: *Testium fides diligenter examinanda est, ideoque in persona eorum exploranda erunt imprimis conditio cujusque.....vel an inimicus ei sit adversus quem testimonium feret.*

gainst Count Lally the informers, who have been heard as witnesses against him, are distinguishable by characters, which it is impossible to mistake.

It appears by facts, which have been recited, to what lengths they went in the settlement against Count Lally; intrigues upon intrigues to make all his enterprises miscarry; a formal disobedience to his orders, or rather a formal revolt against his authority: injurious and threatening letters directed to him; attempts on his person at his leaving Pondichery; atrocious defamations, all the venom of which is concentrated in a libel composed by a Fryar, who was the life and soul of that execrable Cabal.

Such are the practices, with which Count Lally reproached them at his confrontation, and which they have themselves confessed in writings without number. It has even been proved, that some of the Counsellors of Pondichery countenanced by their presence the seditious gathering of the 18th of January, in which several terrible invectives were uttered against
Count

Godefroy, on this law, thus characterises the acts of enmity from which may be derived matter of exception.
Puto si quis tibi palam maledixerit, infestas voces adversus te jassaverit,....., si inimicis tuis amicitiam copulavit.

Count Lally, and the Intendant of the army lost his life. Count Lally, in his confrontation with Monsieur Moracin, particularly objected to that Counsellor his being of the number of the seditious, who treated him with so much indignity.

He even added, that it was proved by a letter of this very witness, that the insult offered him, as well as the murder of the Intendant, were premeditated acts. * He made the same objection, founded on their being present at the same riotous gatherings, to Messieurs Denys, la Grenée, and other Members of the Council of Pondichery. In a word, he made it evidently appear (what results from the facts and the pieces of which an account has been given) that many of these Counsellors were guilty of mal-practices in the districts where they commanded; that they mutually reproached each other with these mal-practices; † that the Company had expressed their dissatisfaction with the
conduct

* This letter, which has been already mentioned, p. 145, says, that Count Lally was too narrowly watched to hide his journey; and that the Intendant was born to leave his bones in the Indies.

† Count Lally produced a letter, written to him, the 30th of June, 1760, by Monsieur Moracin, in which this Counsellor takes a very odd method to clear himself of a charge brought against him, of having called one
of

conduct of these Counsellors in the Memorials they put into Count Lally's hands ; and that the complaints of Count Lally, relating to the unfaithfulness of their stewardship, were the only motives, which induced them to blacken him in the Indies and in Europe, and to become witnesses against him in the criminal prosecution, which they themselves have set on foot against him.

Add

of his Fellow Counsellors a *knave*. This letter contains such new ideas of moral honesty, that we think it our duty to exhibit them here in the very words of the writer. *You have said in the hearing of these gentlemen, that I told you that Monsieur de Larche was a knave, and that, when he came to hear what I told you, he answered the charge by all those speeches of which I complain. Permit me to observe to you, that you confounded the expression which you construed with that I used. I might have told you long since, that I had seen Monsieur de Larche do the action of a very malhonnête (dishonest or ill-bred) man, which I can easily prove, and that this action, added to his natural baughtiness, made me keep a distance with him. I never said that he was a knave ; I might have heard it said by others ; but I never troubled myself enough about what related to Monsieur de Larche to enquire into the truth of this report, which some people have contradicted. NOW A MAN MAY BE A VERY MALHONNETE (DISHONEST OR ILL-BRED) MAN WITHOUT BEING A KNAVE. I CAN PROVE HIM POSSESSED OF THE FIRST OF THESE QUALITIES ; I NEVER ATTRIBUTED TO HIM, AT ANY TIME, OR BEFORE ANY PERSON WHATEVER, THE SECOND. Without examining in this place all the shades between a malhonnête man and a knave, one may venture to affirm, that these two qualities are very compatible.*

Add to these particular objections one general fact owned by all the Members of the Council of Pondichery ; namely, their signing the Memorial presented to the Minister, in which they informed against Count Lally as guilty of horrid extortions ; in which they were not afraid to say, that his military conduct argued *something more than mere want of military capacity* ; in which, in a word, they desired that judges might be appointed to pronounce upon all these charges : Add that so strange and so striking a circumstance of some of these witnesses appearing with a written paper in their hands, so that their informations were ready drawn up, * and, even committed to print in libels, which are themselves extracts from that of a Jesuit convicted of calumny, of duplicity and rapine ; and it must be allowed, that Count Lally has the advantage

* The law 3. §. first, ff. *de testibus*, orders the Judges to examine attentively, if the witness has made his declarations *extempore*, and with simplicity, or if he has brought a studied discourse. *Et qui simpliciter visi sint dicere, utrùm unum eundemque meditatũ sermonem attulerint, an ad ea quæ interrogaveras ex tempore verisimilia responderint.*

Godefroi, on these words, *simpliciter visi sint dicere*, observes, that this simple unstudied manner of expressing oneself removes all suspicion : *Sine suspitioni: ullâ notâ, non instructi à producente* ; and, he adds on these words ; “ *meditatum sermonem,*” *tunc enim corrupti dicuntur.*

vantage of opposing to the Council of Pondichery all the motives, which can determine his judges to reject their testimony.

As little regard is to be paid to the declarations made by the other witnesses produced against Count Lally. They are officers of the company's troops, whom their rank and their fortune render immediately dependent on the Company, and who have evidently a common interest with the accusers of Count Lally, and his other enemies. We do not propose to collect in this place all the particular and peremptory exceptions, which make against each of these witnesses separately considered. We reserve this discussion for another opportunity. We shall at present confine ourselves to a recapitulation of the general inductions, which spontaneously flow from known and well proved facts. Now, it has been demonstrated by a great number of written proofs, that many of these officers openly seconded the intrigues and sinister practices of the Council of Pondichery against Count Lally; yet these are the very men, who have been admitted to depose against him. Those officers, too, have been heard, who headed the revolt of the 18th of January, 1761. One of them, Monsieur Mariol, had repaired at the head of the rebels to the General's quarters at ten in the morning;

ing; the other, Monsieur Law, assembled the conspirators the same day at an entertainment, in which they mutually animated each other; and lent them his house as a place of rendezvous.

Officers, too, whom Count Lally had condemned to military pains for military offences, have been admitted to give testimony against him. Those have been heard, whose mal-practices he had repressed; who had put their hands to hand-bills intended to excite the troops to revolt; and others, who had been broken by the Council of Pondichery. Such are the men, whose depositions concur with those of the Council of Pondichery. But, if such witnesses are to be listened to; if informations dictated by fury, revenge, and hatred are to be considered as proofs, what subject can be safe? The most irreproachable probity, services equally long and distinguished, would avail nothing against calumny. The honour, the life, the reputation of the most worthy persons would become the sport of impudence and imposture. It is to prevent such fatal evils, that the law rejects, as unworthy of confidence, every testimony evidently dictated by passion, and the personal interest of the witness who gives it. Now, we flatter ourselves with having made it appear, that the quality of the In-
formers

formers heard against Count Lally furnishes him with the strongest grounds for setting aside their evidence.

In the second place, we add, that the bare recital of the civil and military operations of this Commander demonstrates an absolute existence of the *Corpus Delicti*. His enemies accuse him of extortion, and insinuate that there are grounds to suspect him of High Treason: But it is in vain they endeavour to blast his character by such wretched calumnies. The crimes, with which they venture to charge him, are irreconcilable with his behaviour during his residence in the Indies. Let us but follow him in his different expeditions; let us but examine attentively his correspondence; let us but weigh the expressions he makes use of in all his letters; and we must be blind not to discover, both in his writings and in his actions, proofs equally numerous and conclusive of probity, of disinterestedness, of the most active and warm zeal for the good of the settlement. Count Lally is not reduced to produce, against vague informations, nothing but contrary allegations. He produces writings, which leave no room even for the slightest suspicion of the pretended extortion, with which he is charged.

How is it possible to maintain, that Count Lally appropriated to himself the riches of the Indies, when it has been irrefragably proved by the registers and the uniform declarations of the treasurers of the army, that the sums produced by his conquests and other military operations were brought into the Company's treasury; and that he is, himself, their creditor for the whole of his appointments; when it has been demonstrated by authentic papers, that he even sacrificed his own private fortune to pay the troops, and procure provisions for Pondichery? A vague accusation of extortion cannot hold out against so many and such striking proofs. If the cabal of informers has blinded those, who know nothing of facts which have happened at six thousand leagues distance from this Kingdom, this blindness must surely be quite cured by the united testimonies, which concur to establish the innocence of the accused. The gravity of calumnies and the number of calumniators may be sometimes so great as to darken our judgement; but, when truth appears again, we do not so readily forgive the impostors the pains they have taken to impose upon our good faith. The enemies of Count Lally have not been afraid to advance, in a Memorial presented to the Minister, that he had remitted to Europe

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immense sums by the hands of the Danes, the Dutch, and the English. They bound themselves in a writing dated four years ago, to produce the proofs of this imputation. They have been often and often called upon since to realize such infamous suspicions; but they have not as yet made good their promise. Nothing, therefore, now remains, but that they should own themselves guilty of calumny in the face of the whole world. The public has been presented with the most exact picture of the civil and military conduct of Count Lally. The truth of our relations is supported by a multitude of papers, which have been laid before the Magistrates and the public. Now, if the certainty of all the facts, of which we have given an account, is inexpugnable, it cannot but follow, that the accusation of extortion has been proved to be slanderous. It cannot be supposed, that a Commander, who has not touched even that which was lawfully his due; who has constantly preferred the general interest of the settlement to his own private interest; who advanced considerable sums of his own as often as the good of the service appeared to him to require it; and who proves the irreproachableness of his conduct by all the proofs of which truths of facts are susceptible; it cannot be supposed, we say

say, that this very Commander should have permitted his integrity to be so far warped by a blind love of money, as to endeavour to enrich himself by unlawful means.

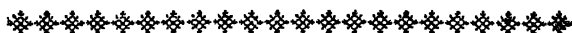
The result, then, of the facts and writings which have been exhibited is, that the different expeditions and operations of Count Lally, considered in their beginning, their progress, and their end, exclude all idea of extortion. But, if there does not exist the smallest trace of this delinquency, with which he is directly charged, what must become of these infamous suspicions, with which his enemies have been endeavouring to fully his fidelity? Did this Commander betray his country, when he hastened the preparations for reducing to her obedience the English settlements; when he was making conquests for her on the coast of Coromandel? Will his enemies attempt to fish any pretext of accusation out of the last misfortunes which he experienced? But, what General would take upon him the command of armies, if want of success were, alone, to expose him to a criminal prosecution? Besides, what efforts did not Count Lally make, how many councils did he not give, to prevent these misfortunes, the real causes of which are now well known. It has been proved, that it

was the total want of provisions and the means of procuring them, which occasioned the loss of Pondichery, which had been reduced to the greatest distress even within a few days after the arrival of Count Lally. Letters have been produced, in which the Governor of that place tells Count Lally, that he has no resources to expect but such as his military successes can procure him.

Must Count Lally, then, be culpable, because the want of assistance from our fleet prevented his succeeding in mixt expeditions; because without vessels, without money, without provisions, he could not resist an enemy abundantly provided with provisions of every kind; an army, whose land forces were four times more numerous than ours, and were, besides, supported by a fleet of fourteen ships of the line.

It has been proved, that Count Lally made use of all the expedients in his power to preserve our settlements. That the inexecution of his orders often rendered useless his designs; that those, who should have shared his labours and his efforts, disputed his authority, and trampled under foot all the laws of civil and military subordination.

It is therefore the height of injustice to fish for charges against Count Lally in the misfortunes of a settlement, which he never ceased endeavouring to defend, till there was a physical impossibility of its subsisting any longer. Odious suspicions of treachery and treason are not to be admitted, when there are manifest proofs of zeal and loyalty. These reflections evince the truth of the two points, on which the general defence of Count Lally turns; 1st. That the witnesses, who have deposed against Count Lally, are unworthy of credit in a court of justice. 2dly. That the bare recital of his civil and military operations in the settlement demonstrates an absolute inexistence of the *Corpus Delicti*. Thus, on the one hand, the informations of his enemies are incapable of forming any proof, and are set aside by all the considerations which can affect their credit. On the other hand, the exposition of his services, and the authentic papers produced by him, operate so strongly towards his justification, as to constitute an assemblage of the qualities and virtues the most opposite to the delinquencies with which he is charged.



COMMISSION APPOINTING COUNT
LALLY LIEUTENANT GENERAL
OVER THE TROOPS, WHICH MAY BE
SENT TO THE INDIES.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all those, to whom these presents shall come, GREETING, Having resolved to send troops to the Indies, to support the settlements of the India Company, and being desirous to provide for the command of these troops, we thought we could not chuse a fitter person for that purpose, than our dear and well beloved the Sieur de Lally, one of the Lieutenant Generals of our armies, considering the proofs he has given us of his valour, experience, capacity, fidelity, and affection for our service, in the different military affairs in which we have employed him. FOR THESE REASONS, and other considerations us thereunto moving, we have made, constituted, appointed, and established, and, by these presents signed with our hand, make, constitute, appoint, and establish, the said Sieur de Lally our Lieutenant General, Commander of the troops which are to be sent to the Indies; and have,
there

therefore, given, and do give, him full power and authority to order them what to do, and to employ them, wherever need may be, to the effect of our intentions; to cause the musters and reviews to be made of our troops, by the ordinary Commissaries by us named for that purpose; to cause our said troops to observe good discipline and order, civil as well as military, according to our regulations and rules of war; see those, who shall dare to disobey them, punished and chastised; direct the payment of our said troops, according to the states thereof sent us; as likewise all other ordinary and extraordinary disbursements requisite to be made for their use; to issue the necessary orders for that purpose on the military chest; and, generally, to do and direct every thing he may judge fit and necessary, having given and giving him power to do and direct every thing, as we ourselves might or could do and direct, if we were personally present; even though the case should require a more special mandate than is imported by these presents. WE, THEREFORE, INJOIN the Sieur Chevalier de Soupire, Major General of our armies; the Brigadiers, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns of our said troops, or others employed with them; the Commissaries of war; Officers of our Royal corps of artillery and fortification; and all others,

whom it may concern, to acknowledge the said Sieur de Lally in quality of our Lieutenant-General, Commander in Chief, and readily to obey him and listen to him in all things relative to the said powers, as they would to ourselves in person; for such is our pleasure: in witness whereof we have caused our seal to be put to these Presents, given at Versailles the Nineteenth day of the month of November, in the year of Salvation One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty-six, and of our reign the Forty-second. *Signed*, LOUIS. On the back is written: By orders of the King, *Signed*, M. DE VOYER D'ARGENSON, and sealed with the great seal of yellow wax.



COMMISSION OF KING'S COMMISSARY
AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF
ALL THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS
IN THE EAST INDIES, GRANTED TO
COUNT LALLY.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navare, to all those to whom these presents shall come, GREETING. The present posture of affairs in the Indies having engaged the India Company to present us le Sieur de Lally, Syndic of the said Company, to be by us appointed
Com-

Commander in Chief of all its settlements, we thought, that the better to enable the said *Sieur de Lally* to fulfil all the views of the said destination, it was proper to invest him with the title and power of *our Commissary*, in that part of the world. FOR THESE CAUSES, we have commissioned, ordered, and established, by these presents signed with our hand, commission, order, and establish, the said *Sieur de Lally*, one of the *Syndics* of the India Company, our *Commissary* in all the settlements of the said Company in the East Indies, and the Islands of France, Bourbon, and Madagascar; have likewise, at the nomination of the said Company, hereunto annexed under the counter-seal of the presents, commissioned, ordered, and established; commission, order, and establish him, *Commander in Chief* of all the said settlements, in the said qualities of our *Commissary* and *Commander in Chief*, there to *command* as well the inhabitants, Directors, Clerks of the said Company, and other servants thereof who are now or may be hereafter employed there, as all other persons whatsoever charged with the affairs of the said Company, of whatever quality and condition they may be, and whatever may be their employments and functions; likewise the *Governors*, *Particular Commanders*, *Officers of the land and sea forces* of the Company, who now
are

are or may hereafter be there; to make them take the oath of fidelity, which they owe us; to make the inhabitants *live in union and concord* one with another; to keep the *land and sea forces* of the said Company in good order, civil as well as military, according to our regulations and those of the said Company; to *maintain the commerce* and traffic of the Factories of the India Company; *preside in all the Councils*, as well superior as provincial, both those that are already, and those that may be hereafter, established, without making any innovation, however, in the settled order for collecting the votes; and this during the present war with England. *We injoin all Governors, Counsellors, Particular Commanders, Officers, soldiers, land and sea forces of the Company, Directors, Clerks, and other servants of the said Company of whatever title and denomination they may be; and all inhabitants of whatever quality and condition they may be, to acknowledge and cause to be acknowledged the said Sieur de Lally, in the said qualities of our Commissary, and Commander in Chief of all the forts and settlements of the said Company in the East Indies, and the Islands of France, Bourbon, and Madagascar; and to obey him in every thing he may command them in the said qualities, without any contravention whatsoever, ON PAIN OF DISOBEDIENCE.*

DIENCE. WE, THEREFORE, ORDER our very dear and loyal Chevalier, keeper of the seals of France, the Sieur de Machault, to receive from the said Sieur de Lally the oath usual and required on such occasions, that the said Sieur de Lally may enjoy the powers, honours, and privileges attributed to him by these presents; for such is our pleasure: in witness whereof we have caused our seal to be put to these presents. GIVEN at Versailles, the Thirty-first day of December, in the year of Salvation One thousand seven hundred and Fifty-six, and of our reign the forty-second. Signed LOUIS, and on the fold, by order of the King, MACHAULT.

Extract from a Memorial, intitled, “ A particular Account of the Counsellors and Under-Merchants of the East India Company’s Settlements,” put by the Directors of the India Company into the Hands of Count Lally before his departure from France.

“ Monsieur de Leyrit was said to be fit for trade; weak, phlegmatic, and silent; suffered others to get the start of him; did not know how to maintain the proper subordination; suffered the military officers to crow over him.

Mon-

Monfieur Louet, Chief at Mahé, was characterized as *a favourer of innovations and a lover of independence.*

The note concerning Monfieur Moracin was by no means to his honour. He was faid to be lazy; to love expence and fhew. *A TIGHT HAND MUST BE KEPT OVER HIM IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE.*

Monfieur Defvaux, of the Council of Pondichery, was characterized as *lazy, taking advantage of the protection of Monfieur de Leyrit, and Monfieur de Leyrit's friendship for Madame Defvaux.*

Againft the name of Monfieur le Noir flood the following obfervation. *Commanded at Yanam; and, on the enemies appearing before it, abandoned it to them.*

Meflieurs Duplan, Beauffet, and de la Selle, were not cited as patterns of probity and difintereftednefs. The articles of the memorial, which regarded them, are as follows.

Duplan, *Commiſſary of Monfieur de Buſſy's army, and paid to extol immoderately the new projects, HAS MADE A GREAT FORTUNE THERE. A VAGUE AND BOMBASTIC SPEAKER.*

Beauffet, *charged with the care of the High Roads, and Coco Plantations, in which employments*
he

he does not forget himself. As to the rest, of a confined genius, and loves money as well as his wife, who governs him.

De la Seille, Senior - - - - - *Monsieur de Bussy charged him with the recovery of four Gercars; does not want parts; but he speaks as his interest directs; is worse informed than he affects to appear; or less sincere.*

Messieurs Miran and la Porterie were likewise described as men, *who in the management of the affairs, with which they were intrusted, had scarce any thing in view but their private interest.* On the same line with their names, and relatively to the details, with which they were entrusted, stood this short but significant note. **THEY DON'T FORGET THEMSELVES THERE.**

Extract from the Instructions given by the Company to Count Lally, in regard to the Company's military servants.

Le Sieur de Lally will take care not to trust any expedition entirely to the troops of the Company. There is great reason to fear, that the spirit of insubordination and undiscipline, and the love of money, might make the Officers commit faults, which it is but prudent to prevent, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity of punishing them. Besides, the success of every enterprise will be the surer for the Company's troops

troops having nothing to do but follow the example, which will be given them by his Majesty's troops.

Letter from the Company to the Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Pondichery, dated the 19th of March 1759, in answer to one written by it before Count Lally's arrival in the Indies.

SINCE the Company has had settlements of any considerable extent in the Indies, it has never received, gentlemen, either from the Governor, or from the superior Council, such details and eclaircissements, as might enable it to form a true judgment of the quantity and quality of its incomes, and its expences. For a long time past, these incomes have been represented to it as sources of wealth sufficient not only to answer all its expences in the Indies, but even supply it with gratuitous cargoes. For this reason, the Company having, after the last war, made the greatest efforts to remit you considerable funds, expected that these same funds, added to the annual revenues above mentioned, would have had such a great and lasting influence on your circumstances, as to make them perfectly easy in that respect. Nevertheless, it now sees with concern, that not only you are very far from
being

being as yet in this so much desired situation, but that your affairs wear a much more disagreeable aspect, than ever they did.

If the present war, and the expences occasioned by it, were the only causes of this failure, the Company, perhaps, would not have so good a right to complain; but what must always appear amazing to it is, that, since you enjoy these revenues, and even in years in which you enjoyed tranquility along with them, your circumstances have not been a whit the better. All your letters have been constantly filled, as they are at present, with complaints of the scarcity of funds, and the necessity you are under of contracting onerous debts; without which, you say, the Council would never, perhaps, have been able to send us the few cargoes we have received for some years past. Nor is this all. It looks as if, in laying open your wants, you did not think yourselves at the same time bound to supply the Company with any accounts of your stewardship; particularly the use you make of its revenues. In fact, we have never been able to gather from your letters any satisfactory detail; we see no resolutions of the Council for letting the Company's lands; we know no farmers but such as you condescend to let us know; we are strangers to that authority by which you change them;

we

we cannot discover, either any examination of accounts at the expiration of the leases; or any verbal processes to prove the deficiencies; or any resolutions of the Council to order works. It is only by the public voice we can learn any thing of your undertakings. In fine, we are left in the dark, even with regard to the expence requisite for the keeping and preserving of these very possessions.

At length, this affected silence of yours determined the Company to send Monsieur Clouet to the Indies, in order to procure by his means the informations we wanted; and, at the same time, charge him with the general receipt of these revenues, and direct him to pay with these very revenues the expences of the war. Judge, therefore, gentlemen, how great must have been the astonishment of the Company, on hearing that Monsieur Clouet saw himself obliged to spend some months at Pondichery, without being so much as able to set about the business upon which we sent him.

Though the demand he made of two Counsellors to form an office had not the sanction of the Company, you should, notwithstanding, in order to make the Company forget your criminal silence, have exerted yourselves,

selves, one and all, to procure Monsieur Clouet all the assistance he might want. Far from this, you affected not to know the contents of his instructions; you began by putting a great deal of time between his memorials and your answers; you put him off till the expiration of the leases; you endeavoured to terrify him with the multitude of the objects which required his attention; you told him, that, for the future, it would be his business to find money, coulisés, provisions, men, &c. In fine, there have been members of the Council so little circumspect, as to advise things diametrically opposite to the intentions of the Company. You do not so much as vouchsafe to send the Company either the memorials of Monsieur Clouet, or the Council's answers to them.

If you wish, gentlemen, that the Company should not conceive those suspicions, which such a conduct might naturally create, you must be more circumspect for the future, and more attentive to the execution of its orders. It directs Monsieur Clouet to return to Pondichery, and conform to the new orders it now sends him. These orders tend only to clear up some articles in his first instructions, which are still the same. We send you a copy of our letter to Monsieur Clouet. We send another to Monsieur de Lally, requesting him, at

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the same time, to give, himself, such orders, as may prevent the execution of those given by the Company suffering any difficulty or delay. The Company has reason to believe and hope, that it will not be obliged to use any other methods to enforce obedience.

We are, very perfectly, Gentlemen, your most humble and obedient servants, the Syndics and Directors of the India Company.
Signed, COLABAU, CASAUBON, GILLY, GODEHEU, SAINTARD, MICHEL, CLAESSEN, ROTHE, and COTTIN. P. C.
Signed, SAINTE-CATHERINE.

Letter from the Company to Count Lally, dated the 20th of March, 1759:

S I R,

Y O U may see, by the foregoing dispatches of the Company, with what impatience we wished for the news of your arrival on the coast of Coromandel. The public and the Proprietors had joined us in our wishes and prayers, when Monsieur le Comte de Montmorency, who arrived at Port L'Orient the 28th of last month, brought the Company all the packets, of which he had been so kind as to take charge; *and which have informed us*
of

of the celerity and success of your first operations; the siege of Cudaloor begun the very day of your arrival; that of Fort St. David undertaken immediately after; the taking of this fort, the most considerable and best fortified of all the forts built by the Europeans on the coast of Coromandel; and the taking of Devi-cottah immediately after; are events, WHICH WILL RENDER FOR EVER MEMORABLE YOUR ARRIVAL AT PONDICHERY.

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We cannot assist you, Sir, but with our wishes, and tell you what we shall be glad to hear you have done. The Ministry and the Company are sensible, that your projects and your enterprizes depend upon circumstances, and such an actual knowledge of the places where you are, as your situation affords you an opportunity of acquiring.

However important your military operations may be, the State and the Company, Sir, expect from your zeal and activity, that, when these operations shall be suspended or stopt, or happen to be such, as you may cause to be executed without being yourself personally present, you will be kind enough to bestow some thoughts on the

administration of the Company's affairs, and the origin of the ABUSES WITHOUT NUMBER, which we can perceive in them. AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM seems to be the first thing that requires correction; and we beseech you, Sir, to employ all the authority, with which you are invested, to put an entire stop to this abuse, and even cut the roots of it. We think, Sir, that it belongs to the Company to judge, what departments in the administration of its affairs ought to be exclusively reserved to the Governor and Commander in Chief; and that all those affairs, concerning which it thinks proper to write to the superior Council, ought to be treated of in the Council, and there discussed by all the members which compose it. To this effect, the Company means, that all its letters to the Council should be opened in full Council; read there in an audible manner; registered there article by article; and that all the members should be informed of the orders they contain, and of the duties they impose on them. This is a necessary preliminary, which we earnestly beg of you, Sir, to see executed during your stay at Pondichery. Every thing conspires to make the Company place its whole dependance upon you for the form to be therein observed. But it most earnestly begs of you to establish one, from which it may not be in the power of the members to deviate; the pur-
port

port of which every member may know ; the execution of which he may insist upon ; and which may render himself culpable, if he does not insist upon the execution of it.

This first form, when once well established and faithfully executed, will secure to the Company two things of equal importance to it ; one, that its lands and revenues will be administered, or let out upon lease, with œconomy ; that no motives of complaisance or private favour will cause this or that steward or farmer to be preferred to another, who might have it in his power to make the lands or revenues produce more, and, besides, offered to give better security for the perception and bringing in of such produce. *You cannot but see, as we do, Sir, that this security is not to be obtained only by the Council's excluding itself from all interest, directly or indirectly, in the collecting of the revenues ; and that the Company cannot, on any pretext whatsoever, suffer those, who, in virtue of their office, are obliged to look to its interests, to be diverted therefrom by any personal interest, which can never be compatible with that of the public. What is here said of the members of the Council, is to be understood of the Under-merchants, and other persons in the Company's service. Both the one and the other ought to stand excluded, by such their office, from the charge of any kind*

of Farm whatsoever. They ought not to be so much as permitted to become security for the Farmers; and, in case it should come to be discovered, that there was any thing in dispute between any of them and a Farmer, and they had made in the leases any private stipulation, verbal or written, not only such stipulation shall be null and void, but the person employed by the Company, who has taken such liberty, shall be excluded from the service of the Company, and prosecuted at the suit of the Attorney General, as guilty of transgressing the Company's orders.

The other security, which we expect from the publicity of the Company's orders, is, that the Company's money will be expended *with more order and æconomy than it has hitherto been.* In this place, Sir, we shall not enter into any detail with you relating to this matter. But the Company earnestly requests you to peruse all the letters it has already written, and shall hereafter write, to the Council, each of which treats of some particular article, which it has equally at heart to inspect narrowly into and clear up.

You will see, Sir, by these letters, that the Company has been hitherto kept in the dark in regard to the result of the examination of the account of the Farmer Rangapapouley; that it has not as yet been made acquainted
with

with the success of the three Commissaries of the Council deputed to examine the Farmers accounts, who should, every one of them, have brought back journals of all the steps they took, in order to procure for the Council the informations, which they had been deputed to obtain; that, before your arrival, considerable expences had been made to enclose Karical; to construct, in the neighbourhood of the limits of Pondichery, certain kinds of fortification, which you yourself, Sir, and all the military gentlemen, have extremely disapproved; that money had been likewise laid out in fortifications at Chilimbrum, which appeared to be entirely useless, when examined by good judges.

All these and many other less considerable expences, which it would be too long to particularize, were made at a time, that the want of money was most severely felt; they were made without the propriety of them being properly discussed; without the necessity of them being demonstrated; without the means to pay them being provided. If the Council had been made acquainted with the orders of the Company, and the Company's dispatches had been read in the Council, it would, no doubt, have observed, THAT THE FILLING OF THE MAGAZINES WITH PROVISIONS AND MILITARY STORES WAS FAR MORE NECESSARY; and that the funds

exhausted by these expences, if employed in the purchase of military stores, would have enabled you, on your arrival, to execute, with greater celerity conveniency and security, the operations you had to perform, in order to destroy the settlements of the enemies of the state and the Company.

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 But, Sir, be upon your guard against the rapaciousness of the men under your orders; and bestow your confidence only on such, as are entitled to it by their good conduct and good name. Keep at a distance all those, who have rendered themselves liable to suspicion; cause to be narrowly watched those, who have not as yet been tried; and prepare for us, we beseech you, such notes and instructive materials, as may enable us to set a just value on all those attached to the Company's service. Our opinions of them vary greatly; **AND THE COMPANY DESIRES TO BE THOROUGHLY AND PARTICULARLY INFORMED OF THE MERIT OF ALL THOSE EMPLOYED IN ITS SERVICE.** These are the informations, Sir, which the Company expects from you; and which constitute one of the chief advantages it hopes from your voyage to the Indies.

Hitherto we have confined ourselves to the advantage, that would accrue from your first successes, of which Monsieur le Comte de Montmorency has given us the detail; but

we hope you will procure still greater advantages to the Company. We say nothing to you of your expedition to Tanjore, the circumstances of which we have received no direct account of; but we flatter ourselves, by what Monsieur de Leyrit writes to the Company, in his letter of the 1st of August 1758, concerning your way of thinking, *that, without giving yourself any trouble to discuss the interests of the Moorish Lords, or who is to have the Nabobships, you will not lose sight of the object of your military expedition.*

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It is, Sir, this uninterrupted success, which alone can procure you the means of succeeding in your future enterprises; supply you with the necessary resources; and enable you to support indispensable expences. You must be sensible, how much oeconomy is wanting; *notwithstanding which, we meet every where PROOFS OF THE MOST BOUNDLESS PRODIGALITY, AND THE GREATEST DISORDER. We see the rents of our lands devoured for the most part by deficiencies; we see immense expences to attain trifling ends, and an excessive consumption of effects of such a nature, as not to be replaced. INCONSIDERATE DEMANDS ARE MADE UPON US,* for want of reflecting on the impossibility the Company is under of providing for them. *For, in fact,*
Sir,

where could we find fleets to carry, from the ports of France to Pondichery, all the provisions, military stores, naval stores, tools, and effects of every other kind, which they write to us for? Where could we find funds to purchase them? Yet, as though all these things were nothing, we are told, that they would be no better than thrown away, UNLESS WE SEND WITH THEM TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND MARKS OF SILVER, AMOUNTING TO ABOVE TEN MILLIONS OF LIVRES. You know what efforts the Company made, at your departure; you know, that, without the effectual assistance of the government, it would have been impossible for the Company to make them; you know, that, at the moment of your setting out, the Company even found itself utterly unable to supply every thing, with which it had resolved to provide you; and that the government was obliged, by the then circumstances of its affairs, to send elsewhere two men of war, which were to sail with you to the Indies; and two battalions of his Majesty's troops, with which your detachment was to have been reinforced.

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We have the honour of being with a respectful attachment, &c.

Extract

Extract from a Letter written by Count Lally to Monsieur de Leyrit. dated Karical the 28th of June 1758.

As to the letters I receive from *Metteurs de Buffy and Law*, I can hardly help mistaking them for the productions of the mad-houses in Paris. If they promise to join us, well and good. Otherwise, were I in your place, I would not give myself the trouble to answer them. I should be glad to know in what consists the advantage our Company can expect from their war or their peace; their treaties or their alliances. In good earnest, you must have a great stock of patience and good nature, to read their letters. For, how is it possible to listen, without indignation, to a man at the head of 150 scare-crows, who tells you seriously, that he is in doubt, whether he shall fall upon the Capital of the Mogul Empire, or descend with all the forces God has put into his hands and make an irruption into Bengal. My opinion is, that, when these gentlemen arrive, you immediately order them to be let blood and put under a course of physic, if there are still any hopes left of their coming to themselves again.

*Report made by Monsieur de Folenay, concerning
the Mutiny of the Army at Vandiwash.*

I THE underwritten, Captain Commandant of the second and third battalions of the regiment of Lorraine, at the time the mutiny happened at Vandiwash, on the 17th of October 1759, certify, that being at Monsieur Alen's, Major of the regiment of Lally, and at that time Commander of the Army, about four in the afternoon, I was informed by an acquaintance of mine, that a revolt had already broke out in my quarters. I found all the common soldiers, grenadiers, corporals, and under-corporals of the whole regiment, in the streets, and going to draw up on the spot, where we used to assemble; I saw them with their arms and baggage. I threw myself into the midst of them, asking what made them assemble without orders in this manner? But I could hear nothing but an universal bawling, the purport of which it is impossible for me to particularize. I called on the officers of the regiment to assist me to quell this tumult, and bring about peace. They readily seconded me; and, as the mutineers began to move, we put ourselves in their way to stop them. I soon found all my
endeavours

endeavours signified nothing; and I own, that the passion I was in, made me forgot all they said and all they did. I can, indeed, very well remember, that, finding it impossible to stop them by the word of command, or even by the King's name, I put myself at their head, and told them, that, if they were going to the enemy, they should not go without taking me along with them. Their officers did the same, and we marched together for above half a league. At length they stopt, and drew up in order of battle. I then asked what they had to complain of. They alledged, that they could not obtain any justice; that they were quarrelled with about trifles; that they were not allowed to go to the Bazars in drawers, and were thereby obliged to be always in guetres; that they were not paid; that they were, notwithstanding, severely punished, and even threatened with the picket, when they did not appear orderly on duty; whereas, far from being able to purchase guetres, they had not wherewith to procure themselves drawers; that they had too long suffered themselves to be imposed upon; that their officers thought only how they could amuse them; that the General had laid his hands upon every thing; that he had bought a ship, and put three millions on board it; that he was on the point of embarking, and taking every thing along with him; that they were covered with

wounds;

wounds; that they were intitled to some indulgence, especially now that they saw the Field Officers recalled, particularly the Chevalier de Soupire, who had promised them at Port L'Orient, that he would not return to Europe without them.

That they were abandoned on the coast; that, seeing themselves banished in such a distant place, they had no longer any measures to keep; that they no longer considered themselves as Frenchmen.

That, in a word, they were not going to the enemy; and that in a short time we should see them halt, and know what they really intended.

However, in spite of all their bawling, I could perceive a change in them; they came to terms with me; they desired I should give them a promise under my hand to say nothing of what had happened, and insisted on all the other officers doing the same. I thought proper to comply in order to bring them back to their duty. This done, they faced about and followed me, assuring me that they loved me, as well as all their own Officers; that they would sell their lives for us, but that the wretched condition they were left in after an action, in which they
had

had saved the Indies by their bravery, had made them take that desperate step; that they had no reason to complain of any body but their general; that they had, however, deserved a far different treatment.

When we had almost got back to our quarters, they heard the drums beat a march. Upon this, they stopt short in spite of all we could say to them; they began to shout, and their shouts were answered. The troops of the Company and the regiment of Lally appeared in full march to them, calling them cowards if they retracted. Upon this, the tumult began again; and I could no longer make any impression upon them. The whole army went to pass the night half a league from its quarters. This is what I attest, in witness whereof I sign. *Signed, Folenay, Captain of the regiment of Lorraine.*

We spent the night with them, exhorting them and begging of them to return to their duty. They were by this time all gathered together. The 18th at day break they beat the General, before they put themselves in motion. Monsieur Alen, myself, and several other Officers who followed him, spoke to them again. They immediately returned to their bawling, still repeating, without consenting to listen to what we said to them,
that

that they were not going to the enemy. They had, in the night, seized on all the artillery and ammunition. At eight in the morning, they began their march, when we thought proper to retire to Vandiwash, as we found our presence served only to exasperate them. We sent Messenger after Messenger to them. We strove to engage the few foldiers who lagged behind to join them, hoping, that, as they appeared better disposed than those of the main body, the more of them joined the main body, the sooner we should be able to bring it to reason.

Things went on thus till the 19th. At night, Monsieur de Fumel, heretofore a Major General, arrived with money.

We accompanied him to the Aldeé of Colour, whither the mutineers had withdrawn. Monsieur de Fumel called for the chiefs of each body, who thereupon assembled before us; when we proposed to them, that they should take four months pay; represented, that we had been hard put to obtain even so much; that there was a necessity for their yeilding to circumstances. The Chiefs appeared to consent; they answered that they would go and inform their respective corps of the offers that had been made them. They were hereupon desired to assemble the heads of the Companies, that these

these offers might be repeated to them. A ring being formed, they were, accordingly, repeated; and the heads of the respective companies, which composed it, seemed willing to comply; but those, who stood near them, cried out immediately, that no composition would do; that nothing less than their whole pay would satisfy them. Upon this the ring broke up, and we went to our different corps, who assured us, as before, of their aversion to go over to the English; that they would fight like lions; that, were the English to appear, they would call upon us to head them again.

They returned, however, to their old complaints, on our representing to them that every thing possible had been done. They told us that there was money in Pondichery; and that a great deal was still wanting to make up their pay. They enumerated to us the sums lately received by the General; that he had received 80,000 pagodas from the inhabitants of Pondichery; 100,000 rupees from the Daubachis; eight laks from the squadron; that he had, besides, in his ship, wherewith to pay twenty one. That it was the fashion of the country for Generals, when they left it, to carry off all they could along with them. That Monsieur Dupleix had carried off several months pay belonging to the

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troops,

troops; that Monsieur Godcheu had done the same; as would Monsieur de Lally, if they had not stirred in time. It now appeared to no purpose to preach to them any longer. Monsieur de Fumel bid us withdraw.

Second and third day, I certify the truth of this report. *Signed* FOLENAY.

Declaration of Count Lally to the Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Pondichery.

31st of August, 1760.

WE are come at last, Gentlemen, to the eve of the catastrophe, which I have foretold to you. Your hatred against me has got the better of your desire to save Pondichery. Since the imprisonment of Monsieur de Buffy, Monsieur Moracin has put himself at the head of a cabal formed by three or four of your members, who have erected themselves into censors of all my negotiations and military operations.

From the day of your first disobedience to the King's orders; a memorable day,
in

in which the enemy appeared both by sea and land to attack us.

Twelve days ago, you applied to me for a national Council, merely with a view to break the measures I had taken for the immediate raising of the sum of 300,000 rupees on merchants, who were your friends and partners, in order to load with it wretches, who, I well knew, would never be able to raise, in time, the tax that should be imposed upon them. This sum was the only resource left for officers, who, for want of mere subsistence, are no longer able to keep with their respective corps. These merchants are the men, who, for two years past, have been absorbing all the ready money of this settlement. You, at length, forced me to consent to the holding of this Council, the result of whose deliberations was known the next day by the enemy.

You have been ever since constantly importuning me to send out detachments, to bring provisions into Pondichery; you decided, that I had more troops than were requisite for the defence of the place. In consequence hereof, I, ten days ago, sent out 200 men. I was for sending out the like number the day before yesterday; but you opposed it, on pretence that it would be stripping the

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place

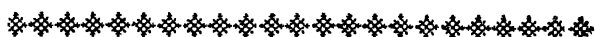
place of some of the troops necessary for its defence.

You have forgot yourselves so far as to prescribe to me operations, with which the King and the Company have charged me, and me only; and which they have even forbid me to communicate to you. You have already twice laid me under a necessity of laying before you the powers of the Court, which injoin you, on pain of disobedience, to obey me.

It is high time I should take a final resolution. That of severity is, I well know, what you would willingly drive me to. It would hasten, by a month, the loss of the place, in consequence of the refusal I should then experience of the few means still left to keep it off. Behold, therefore, what I have at last resolved upon. It is to lay down the authority, with which the King and the Company have entrusted me, and to charge you alone with the event. I shall for the future look upon myself as a private person in every respect; and, as such, shall be equally ready with the meanest inhabitant to expose my person, in case the English should attack our walls. And I order you, in the King's name, to enter this my declaration in your registers, and
to

to let me have a copy thereof compared with the original; which done, I leave you at liberty to do and act, as you yourselves shall think proper. *Signed, LALLY, and underneath is written, By the King's Commissary. Signed, ROCLETTE.*

N. B. The reasons assigned by Count Lally for taking this step were, that the members of the Council, and the other servants of the Company, had openly shook off the yoke of his authority; that their past behaviour sufficiently indicated a fixed resolution to thwart, privately or publicly, all his future measures for the safety of the place; and that the orders given by him with that view, instead of being obeyed, served only to increase the fury of his enemies. After all, he never actually quitted the command, the Officers of the army having declared, that in that case they would, likewise, throw up their commissions.



ACCOUNTS OF THE TAKING OF PONDICHERRY GIVEN BY THE ENGLISH COMMANDERS.

Colonel Coote's Account ; in a Letter to one of His Britannic Majesty's Secretaries of State, Dated Head Quarters at Oulgaret, February 3, 1761.

S I R,

ON the 23d of October, Admiral Stevens failed from Trincamaley to refit the squadron, leaving five sail of the line, under the command of Captain Haldane, to continue the blockade of Pondichery by sea, which place began to be greatly distressed for want of provisions. On the 9th of November, I ordered a ricochet battery for four pieces of cannon to be erected to the northward, at about 1400 yards from the town, more with a design to harrafs the enemy, than any damage we could think of doing to the works at so great a distance. On the 10th, we began to land our stores, and to prepare every thing for the carrying on the siege with vigour. The rains being over by the 26th, I imagined the distresses of the enemy might be much augmented, and garrison duty rendered very fatiguing, if some batteries were erected on different quarters of the town : I therefore gave directions

directions to the engineers to pitch on proper places, at such distances, and in such situations, that the shot from them might enfilade the works of the garrison, and our men and guns not exposed to any certain fire of the enemy. Accordingly, the following batteries were traced out, one (called the Prince of Wales's) for four guns, near the beach on the north side, to enfilade the great street, which runs north and south through the white town : one for four guns and two mortars, to the north west quarter, at 1000 yards distance, to enfilade the north face of a large counterguard, before the north west bastion, called the Duke of Cumberland's ; a third called Prince Edward's, for two guns, to the southward, at 1200 yards distance, to enfilade the streets from south to north, so as to cross the fire from the northern battery ; and a fourth to the south-west, called Prince William's, for two guns and one mortar, at 1100 yards distance, in order to destroy the guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the vessels and boats near it. On the 8th, at midnight, they were all opened together, and continued firing till day-light. On the 9th, the enemy kept up a warm fire on our batteries, without doing much damage to them. This day one gunner and a subedar of seapoys were killed. On the 25th Admiral Stevens, with four ships of the line, arrived off Pondichery, having

parted company with Admiral Cornish and his division, on the 16th instant, in blowing weather. On the 29th, a battery, called the Hanover, was begun, for ten guns and three mortars, to the northward, at 450 yards distance from the town, against the north-west counterguard and curtain.

On the 1st of January, we had a very violent storm of wind and rain: it began at eight o'clock in the evening, and lasted till between three and four the next morning. I gave directions for the repairing our batteries, which the storm had almost ruined, and the putting every thing into the best order our present situation would admit. On the 4th we had the agreeable fight of Admiral Stevens in the Norfolk, who had the good fortune to weather out the storm, without suffering the least damage. On the 5th I attacked a post of very great consequence to the enemy, in which were four twenty-eight pounders, called St. Thomas's redoubt, and carried it without any loss. At day-light on the 6th, 300 of the enemy's grenadiers retook it, owing to the Officer, commanding the redoubt, not being able to keep his Seapoys together. This day Admiral Cornish in the Lenox, with the York and Weymouth, arrived; and, as most of the ships, which had been disabled, were now refitted, the blockade

kade of Pondichery was as compleat as ever. On the 12th the Hanover battery, being repaired, kept up a very brisk fire, and greatly damaged the counterguard and bastion, and made a breach in the curtain. On the 13th, in the evening, I ordered a working-party of 700 Europeans and 400 Lascars, with the pioneers company, under the command of a Major, to the northward, where the engineers had traced out a battery for eleven guns and three mortars. At eight o'clock they began a trench for introducing gabions of four feet high, which were to form the interior facing of the battery. At the same time a parallel was begun, 90 yards in the rear, of 250 yards long, and an approach of 400 yards in length. Notwithstanding the moon shone very bright, and the battery within 500 yards of the walls, every thing went on without the least disturbance from the enemy. By morning six embrasures were in a condition to receive guns, and the rest far advanced. This was called the royal battery. On the 14th the Hanover battery kept up a constant fire the whole day, which entirely ruined the west face and flank of the north-west bastion. On the 15th the royal battery was opened, which, by eight o'clock in the morning, silenced the fire of the enemy, and gave us an opportunity of beginning a trench, to contain our royal mortars and three guns, for the more speedy demo-

demolition of the demi-bastion and ravelin of Madras-gate. This evening Colonel Dure, of the royal artillery, the Chief of the Jesuits, and two Civilians, were sent out by Monsieur Lally, with proposals for the delivering up the garrison, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose you, and my answer thereto. Also a copy of the several articles delivered me by the Chief of the Jesuits, on behalf of the French East India company, to which I made no reply. On the 16th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the grenadiers of my regiment took possession of the Villenour-gate; and, in the evening, those of Draper's of the citadel. The Commissaries were immediately ordered to take an account of all the military stores found in the garrison, and returns to be given in, of the number of Officers, non-commissioned and private, of the different corps, at the time the place surrendered, as well as the number of inhabitants; all of which I have now the honour to transmit to you, as well as a plan of the garrison, with the works carried, and intended to be carried on, against it.

It is with the greatest pleasure I acquaint you, that during the whole time of the blockade, a perfect harmony subsisted between the navy and army, and all possible assistance given me by Admiral Stevens. I should likewise do great injustice to Captain Haldane, if

I omitted

I omitted to mention his attention and assiduity for the public service, during his having the command of the ships left on the coast by Mr. Stevens, and of his doing every thing that could be wished or expected from a good and gallant Officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, EYRE COOTE.

Translation of Mr. Lally's Proposals for the Delivery of the Garrison. Directed to Colonel Coote, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces before Pondichery.

THE taking of Chandernagore, contrary to the faith of treaties, and of that neutrality which has always subsisted between all European nations, and namely between the two nations in this part of India; and that immediately after a signal service which the French nation had rendered the English, not only in taking no part against them with the Nabob of Bengal, but in receiving them in their settlements, to give them time to recover from their first losses (as appears by the letters of thanks from Mr. Pigot himself, and from the Council of Madras to that of Pondichery) added to the formal refusal of fulfilling the conditions of a cartel, agreed

agreed upon between our respective masters, though it was at first accepted by Mr. Pigot, and the commissaries were named on both sides to go to Sadraht to settle amicably the difficulties which might occur in its execution, put it out of my power with respect to my court to make or propose to Mr. Coote any capitulation for the town of Pondichery.

The King's troops, and those of the Company, surrender themselves, for want of provisions, prisoners of war of his Britannic Majesty, upon the terms of the cartel *, which I reclaim equally for all the inhabitants of Pondichery, as well as for the exercise of the Roman religion, the religious houses, hospitals, chaplains, surgeons, servants, &c. referring myself to the decision of our two

* Count Lally insists, that, though he confined himself, conformably to the advice of a council of war, to require for the troops no other conditions than those of the cartel, he, in so doing, required the most advantageous conditions he could possibly expect; since, in case his demand had been complied with, and the Count d'Aché had arrived in time with money to pay the ransom stipulated by the 11th article of that cartel, Count Lally and his army might have recovered their liberty, and found themselves in a condition to retake Pondichery from the English.

courts for reparation proportioned to the violation of so solemn a treaty.

Accordingly Mr. Coote may take possession to-morrow morning at eight o' clock of the gate of Villenour; and after to-morrow at the same hour of that of Fort St. Louis; and as he has the power in his own hands, he will dictate such ulterior dispositions to be made as he shall judge proper.

I demand merely from a principle of justice and humanity, that the mother and sisters of Rezafail be permitted to seek an asylum where they please, or that they remain prisoners among the English, and be not delivered up into Mahomud Ally Cawn's hands, which are still red with the blood of the husband and father, that he has spilt, to the shame indeed of those who gave them up to him; but not less to the shame of the Commander of the English army, who should not have allowed such a peice of barbarity to be committed in his camp.

As I am tied up by the cartel in the declaration which I make to Mr. Coote, I consent that the gentlemen of the Council of Pondichery may make their own representations to him, with regard to what may more immediately concern their own private

vate interests, as well as the interest of the inhabitants of the colony.

Done at Fort Louis of Pondichery, the
15th day of January, 1761.

Signed, LALLY.

*Colonel Coote's Answer to Monsieur Lally's
Proposals.*

THE particulars of the capture of Chandernagore having been long since transmitted to his Britannic Majesty, by the Officer to whom that place surrendered, Colonel Coote cannot take cognizance of what passed on that occasion; nor can he admit the same as any way relative to the surrender of Pondichery.

The disputes which have arisen concerning the cartel concluded between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties, being as yet undecided, Colonel Coote has it not in his power to admit, that the troops of his most Christian Majesty, and those of the French East India Company, shall be deemed prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty upon the terms of that cartel; but requires that they surrender themselves prisoners of war, to be used
as

as he shall think consistent with the interests of the King his master. And Colonel Coote will shew all such indulgences as are agreeable to humanity.

Colonel Coote will send the grenadiers of his regiment, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock to-morrow morning, to take possession of the Villenour gate; and the next morning, between the same hours, he will also take possession of the gate of Fort St. Louis.

The mother and sisters of Raza Saib shall be escorted to Madras, where proper care shall be taken for their safety; and they shall not, on any account, be delivered into the hands of Nabob Mahomud Ally Cawn.

Given at the head quarters at the camp before Pondichery, this 15th day of January, 1761.

Signed, EYRE COOTE.

Articles proposed to Colonel Coote by the Chief of the Jesuits; to which no answer was returned.

The superior Council of Pondichery, authorized by the Count de Lally, Lieutenant General of the armies of his most Christian Majesty, and his Commissary in India, treat for the said town and its inhabitants, present the following articles to Colonel Coote, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops on the coast of Coromandel.

ARTICLE I.

Upon the reduction of the place, its inhabitants shall not in any wise be injured, their houses shall be preserved, and they shall retain all their effects and merchandize, with liberty of choice to convey them wherever they shall think proper, or to continue their dwelling in the said town, as new subjects of his Britannic Majesty; and they shall be treated as the old subjects have usually been treated; accordingly, those who have heretofore had possessions or advantages, shall not be deprived of them.

ARTICLE II.

They shall be maintained in the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, in the same manner

manner as has been practised under the French Government. The churches and the houses of the ecclesiastics and religious persons shall be preserved, together with every thing thereunto belonging, whether they be situated without or within the town. The missionaries shall have liberty of passing from place to place, and shall find, under the English flag, the same protection as under the French flag.

ARTICLE III.

Not only the buildings and houses, belonging to private persons, whether laymen, ecclesiastics, or religious persons, shall be left in the condition they are, but also the buildings belonging to the Company, as well as the fort, the warehouses, and the walls of the town, with all the fortifications, until the date of these last, that is to say, every thing of this kind, belonging to the Company, shall be decided by the two respective courts.

ARTICLE IV.

The papers of the registry and notary Office, on which depend the fortunes of the inhabitants, shall be sent to France without any obstacle, by such conveyances as they shall think fit, who are now charged with them, and in whose possession they shall, in the mean time, remain.

ARTICLE V.

The treatment herein before stipulated by the first article, for the inhabitants of Pondichery, shall be extended to all the members of the Council, Company's Agents, Officers settled in the said town, and all others, who have been, or now are, in the service of the Company; and so, in like manner, to the merchants, whether Armenians, or of any other nation, settled heretofore in Pondichery for their trade.

ARTICLE VI.

The Creoles, or natives of Mauritius and of Bourbon, amounting in number to forty-one, including five Officers, as well those who are in health, as those who have been wounded, or are invalids, having served as volunteers, and not being soldiers, should have the liberty of returning to their home by the first good opportunity they may find.

ARTICLE VII.

Safeguards shall be granted to prevent disorder.

ARTICLE VIII.

All the foregoing articles shall be executed according to good faith.

Re-

*Return of Brass and Iron Ordnance, Carriages,
Powder, Shot, and small Arms, found on the
Works of Pondichery, Town, Citadel, and
Artillery Park.*

Brass ordnance serviceable,	—	81
Ditto unserviceable,	—	2
Iron ordnance serviceable,	—	436
Ditto unserviceable,	—	48
Brass howitzers serviceable,	—	13
Iron ditto serviceable,	—	2
Brass mortars serviceable,	—	82
Iron ditto serviceable,	—	7
Carriages of different forts serviceable,		326
Ditto unserviceable,	—	58
Mortar beds, wood, serviceable,	—	46
Ditto, iron, serviceable,	—	7
Double headed shot,	—	182
Lead shot of different nature,	—	60264
Shells and hand-granadoes,	—	22599
Grape shot,	—	1095
Barrels of serviceable powder of 200lb.		
each ———	—	207
Barrels of serviceable ditto of 100lb.		
each ———	—	14882
Total of Powder,	—	lb. 230580
Barrels unserviceable,	—	56
Powder in cartridges of different nature		
—————	—	lb. 40330
Exclusive of small arms ammunition.		

Ammunition fixed for	{ Wall pieces	2907
	{ Muskets,	368640
	{ Carbines,	98980
	{ Pistols,	46830
	{ Gingalls,	20700
Muskets new with bayonets,		1550
Ditto new without bayonets,		125
Ditto with locks, mostly bad,		2351
Ditto unserviceable, between 7 and 8000		
English wall pieces, good,	—	18
Ditto, — bad,	—	8
French wall pieces, good,	—	190
Gingall pieces, old,	—	73
Carbines,	—	35
Fuzees long, new,	—	120
Ditto, old,	—	50
Fuzees short	—	30
Pistols, new pairs,	—	6000
Ditto, old pairs,	—	310
Hangers, new,	—	3200
Sabres, new,	—	1000
Broad swords and sabres mixed,		195
Bayonets, new,	—	3000
Ditto, old,	—	2000
Pole axes,	—	1200
Cartouch boxes, new,	—	3000
Ditto, old,	—	2000
Hogsheads of Flints, about	—	20
Barrels of Musket balls,	—	6
Kegs of ditto,	—	80
		Iron

Iron ramrods, about	—	12,000
Copper drums,	—	15
Wood ditto,	— —	17
Es pontoons, old,	—	28
Cartridge boxes of different sizes,		20860

A small quantity of fixed ammunition.

Ladles of different sizes,	—	265
Sponges ditto, mostly old,	—	430
Lead aprons of different sizes,		360
Wad-hooks, ditto,	—	50
Grates for heating shot,	—	2

With a large quantity of musket flings, buff belts, armourers, smiths, and carpenters tools, locks, and other lumber.

ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE ADMIRALTY-OFFICE.

REAR Admiral Stevens, in his letters of the 6th and 7th of February last to Mr. Cleveland, informs the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Pondichery surrendered to his Majesty's arms on the 15th of the preceding month, having been very diligently blockaded by his Majesty's squadron under his command for upwards of eight months; and for a considerable time by Colonel Coote, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's land forces. General Lally, in expectation of relief from the French squadron,

suffered himself, garrison, and inhabitants, to be reduced to the utmost degree of distress and misery for want of provisions. Colonel Coote began the siege about a month before its surrender; and the last battery, consisting of eleven twenty-four pounders, which he raised, was within about five hundred yards of the walls. In two days after this, they gave up the place at discretion. The 16th in the morning at eight o'clock, a company of grenadiers took possession of the Valledour-gate; and on the 17th, at the same time, Colonel Coote, accompanied by Rear Admiral Cornish, and the Captains Haldane and Tinker, took possession of the citadel on the part of both services, as they were so connected together in the reduction of this important conquest to his Majesty's arms, and to the East India Company in particular.

He flatters himself, that the zeal, which has ever animated him in the faithful discharge of his duty to his royal master and his country, will meet with their Lordships approbation; and he thinks it his duty to acquaint their Lordships, how well he is satisfied with the conduct and behaviour of Rear Admiral Cornish, and the Captains of his Majesty's ships under his command, in carrying on the public service.

He also informs their Lordships, that on the 1st of January, a violent storm of wind coming on, he found it absolutely necessary, for the safety of his Majesty's ships, to cut their cables and put to sea; where he parted company with the other ships of the squadron; and on the 4th, returning into Pondichery road, he had the misfortune to find his Majesty's ship Duke of Aquitain had foundered about two leagues to the southward, and the Sunderland about two leagues to the northward of that place, and most of the crews perished. The ships Newcastle and Queenborough, with the Protector fireship, were drove on shore and lost a little to the southward of Ariancopang, but the people were saved; as also the ordnance, and most of the stores and provisions. Several of the other ships suffered in the storm; but with the help of the masts, yards, and stores saved from the wrecked ships, and the assistance of the squadron, they were, in a very few days, completely fitted, and put in a proper state for service.

That having intercepted a letter from General Lally to M. Raymond, French Resident at Pullicat, a copy of which is hereafter added, the Admiral immediately dispatched circular letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements, to acquaint them, that

notwithstanding the representations of General Lally, he had eleven sail of his Britannic Majesty's ships of the line, and two frigates, under his command, in condition for service, holding the blockade of Pondichery; and as that place was closely invested and blockaded by land and sea; and as, in that case, it was contrary to the law of nations, for any neutral power to give them any succour or relief, he had determined to seize any vessel or boat that should attempt to throw any provisions into that place.

Translation of an intercepted letter from General Lally to M. Raymond, French Resident at Pullicat, dated Pondichery the 2d of January 1761.

MR. RAYMOND,

THE English squadron is no more, Sir: out of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crew and all; the four others dismasted; and it appears there is no more than one frigate that hath escaped; therefore don't lose an instant to send us chelingoos upon chelingoos loaded with rice: the Dutch have nothing to fear now; besides (according to the rights of nations) they are only to send us no provisions THEMSELVES, and we are no more blocked up by sea.

The

The saving of Pondichery hath been in your power once already : if you miss the present opportunity, it will be entirely your fault : do not forget also some small chelingoos ; offer great rewards : I expect seventeen thousand Morattoes within these four days. In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time.

Signed, LALLY.

Letter from Monsieur Pollier, Officer of Artillery in the Battalion of the Indies to Count Lally ; dated St. Thomas, the 21st of January 1761.

S I R,

THE intelligence I am going to give you is of consequence. A conspiracy has been formed against your life. As I am confined by sickness to my bed, and would a thousand times rather lose my own life than that you should suffer by any treachery, I give you leave to make what use you please of this intelligence. There is a villain, who has said openly in the presence of several Officers, that he was certain one of his acquaintances would risk his own life rather than miss yours. I can produce witnesses of what I advance ; but, Sir,
if

if you prosecute the affair, take me out of the fight of your enemies, who, being so numerous, would not fail to ruin me. Be assured of the fidelity and respect, with which

I have the honour of being,

Sir,

your most humble and most
obedient servant,

DE POLLIER.

*Extract from the Manifesto of the Council of
Madras*

At the same time, that Monsieur Lally sent the foregoing declaration by Colonel Durre of the Artillery, Monsieur Lavaur, superior of the Jesuits, and two members of the Council came, in the name of the settlement, with seven articles of capitulation, in which they required every thing, that a town in the best state of defence could expect. In a word, they proposed, that the English garrison should do no more than just relieve the French troops; and that the town and its inhabitants, their effects, privileges, and religion, should continue on the same footing

Extract

Extract from the Representations made to Mr. Pigot and the Council of Madras, by Monsieur de Leyrit.

Is it, then, by the law of retaliation you hope to be able to justify your proceedings?

I allow, gentlemen, that Monsieur de Lally demolished Fort St David, which sensibly affected you, and not without reason. But, on the other hand you must allow the truth of the facts, which I am now going to lay before you.

Was not the Fort of Chandernagore the first fort demolished in the Indies since the commencement of the war? The English seized upon this ~~factory~~ contrary to the laws of neutrality, upon which the French had always depended; and which, on their side, they had ever strictly observed; so strictly, as to refuse to listen to the solicitations of the Nabob of Bengal, who pressed them to join him against the English.

When Monsieur de Lally, General of our troops, Commissary of our King, and Syndic of our Company, wrote to Colonel Coote, who commanded the English troops, *to invite him to come, the day following, and take possession of*
of

of our place, he authoris'd us to send our Deputies with Monsieur le Chevalier Durre, the bearer of his letter. As to the contents of this letter, we scarce know any thing of them, and we beseech you, Gentlemen, to get us a copy of it. The articles of capitulation, with which our Deputies were charg'd, had been examined by Monsieur de Lally, and were presented to Colonel Coote, who did not refuse any of them; and told us, that he would settle every thing the day following, in the properest manner he could with Monsieur de Lally. We, besides, know, that Monsieur Coote, at his first interview with Count de Lally, told him, that he was ready to grant him all his demands, except those it was unreasonable to expect. What is it then that has been settled between them? We know nothing of it, as our General set out without telling any thing of the matter. But, since yours has put into your hands the place, which was put into his by Monsieur de Lally, he must have told you upon what conditions he received it; and we beseech you to let us know what you know yourselves of this affair. It is not probable, that our General should have delivered, without any conditions or reservations, a place, which we had more Europeans to defend than you to attack, according to the lists taken by your own Majors. If it should happen, that there is no capitulation in writing, it must, of course, be owned, in order to remove all

suspicion of collusion, that Monsieur de Lally, when he surrendered us at discretion to Colonel Coote, reckoned on his being able to engage him to procure us a so much more favourable treatment at your hands. But it appears by the manner, in which you have hitherto behaved towards us, that you intend to forget your equity so far, as to take advantage of that circumstance.

This step cannot lessen our gratitude for what Mr. Pigot does, with all that goodness and politeness which are so natural to him, to alleviate the distress of every individual amongst us. We shall, at all times, and in all places, be ready to give the most authentic testimony of it; but our private interest should not blind us to our duty, and the interest of the public, with which we have been entrusted.

It seems to me to be mutually the interest of both nations, that some ransom, and the means of paying it, should be agreed on. *I hope you will not be the only person to relish this proposal*, a compliance with which the English Commanders by sea and land will prefer to any other step that tended only to do evil for evil.

Extract from the Memorial addressed to the Council of Madras by Father Lavour, against the demolition of the Fortifications and Houses of Pondichery.

You, yourselves, Gentlemen, are interested in it. One day or another you may be charged with what you are thus going to do of your own authority. Your own constituents may hold you answerable for the ill consequences of it.

After submitting, Gentlemen, what I have been saying to your consideration, I have nothing left but to require, that you enter it in your books, and give me a certificate thereof. It is the least we can expect from your justice.

Done at Pondichery, the 4th of April 1761.

Signed, LAVAUR.

Extract from a Letter written by Father Lavour to Monsieur Dupré, Governor of Pondichery.

Are you equally in a hurry, Sir, to destroy the house, in which we have a domestic altar, for the private exercise of our religion? May

we continue in it long enough to remove the effects belonging to it, which I shall take care to do with all the dispatch I possibly can? Most of our Monks are already set out for other places, to which I am sending part of our effects. Three priests, and three assistants are the only members of our community, which now remain with me. We have still on our hands seven boarders, all young children, who have no friends or relations here to take care of them. Are we, then, to be turned without more ado into the streets; and set out without further delay? Have I not some reason to expect, that you will grant us the respite, which justice requires, to save what we can from the ruins of our apartments, as well as the furniture still remaining in them?

I have the honour, &c.

Pondichery the 4th of April 1761.

Signed, LAVAUR.

*Extract from Monsieur Dupré's Answer to
Father Lavour.*

Reverend Father,

Were I to enter into a justification of the measures taken with respect to this settlement, I could begin by citing the orders, which you
know

know Monsieur de Lally received from the Court of France, to demolish all the maritime places he might take from the English, and to transport all the Europeans he should find in them to the Island of Bourbon. I could tell you of the hard usage, which it appears they were to receive there. I could lay before you, as so many proofs of the rigour with which your General meant to execute these orders, numberless instances of severity, I might call it cruelty, exercised by him on those of my country, who have had the misfortune to fall into his hands; and, if, after six weeks granted you to remove, you still think the time too short, I could put you in mind of the inhabitants of Fort St. David being obliged to remove in three days, almost without any other effects, than what they could themselves take along with them. But I do not now mean to enter into this discussion; all I mean is, to answer that part of your letter, which is levelled at me in particular. As to the rest, I must beg leave to refer you to my superiors at Madras.

I am, &c.

Signed, DUPRE'.

Extract

EXTRACT FROM THE RETURN MADE OF
THE FRENCH TROOPS AND OTHER
EUROPEANS FOUND IN PONDICHERRY.

Commissioned Officers, Staff-Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Rank and File.

King's Troops.

Artillery	—	—	83
Lorraine Regiment	—	—	327
Lally's Regiment	—	—	230
Marines	—	—	295
			—
			935
			—

Company's Troops.

Artillery	—	—	94
Cavalry	—	—	15
Volunteers of Bourbon	—	—	40
Battalion of India	—	—	192
Invalids	—	—	124
			—
			465
			—

Supernumerary, commissioned, and extraordinary Staff	—	—	37
			—

Total of the troops	—	—	1437
A a			Civil

Civil List including the Governor, Council, and inhabitants	————	381
---	------	-----

Total of troops, civil Officers, and inhabitants	————	1818
--	------	------

People afterwards found out, not included in the above lists.

Surgeons, &c. of hospitals	————	39
Attendants to ditto	————	9
Invalids of the German brigade	—	29
Men discharged, and remain in town	—	173
Provost people	————	4
		————
Total	————	254
		————

Note, it appears by a Letter from Admiral Stevens, that no money was found in the place.

Extract from a Letter relating to the taking of Pondichery, dated Fort St. George, the 1st of February 1761.

Monfieur Lally is arrived amongst us. Notwithstanding his fallen condition, he is now as proud and haughty as ever. A great share of wit, sense, and martial abilities, obscured by a savage ferocity, and an undistinguished contempt for every person that moves in a sphere below that of a General, characterizes this odd compound of a man. When
he

he marched out of the citadel of Pondichery, his officers and men saluted him with a loud and general hiss, loading him, at the same time, with the most abusive and opprobrious names. His Commissary would have justified his character, but he paid dear for the attempt; they killed him on the spot, and would have done as much by his patron, if he had not made good his retreat to the English camp. He was so generally hated, (if I may be allowed the expression) that the very dogs howled at him. It is a convincing proof of his abilities, the managing so long and vigorous a defence, in a place where he was held in universal detestation.

Our batteries were opened only a few weeks before it was given up, and were indeed so well served, as to perform wonders; but the want of every necessary within, was what wrought chiefly in our favour. The inhabitants had subsisted for a considerable time upon their elephants, camels, horses, &c. I can assure you for a truth, that a dog sold for 24 rupees or as many half-crowns; of this miserable provision there did not remain enough for one day longer, when the English took possession of it.

Extract from the Speech made by the Governor to the Council of Madras, concerning the Destruction of the Fortifications and Houses of Pondichery.

Gentlemen,

I shall add another representation, and a letter received from Monsieur de Leyrit, the last Governor of Pondichery. These papers contain every thing that can be alledged, in point of humanity or the custom of war, against the demolition of the fortifications and the buildings. Let us but see the letters Patent of his Majesty, the orders of the Company, and the intercepted instructions of the Court of France to the Count d'Aché and General Lally, and we shall be then provided with the principal papers, which can influence our deliberations on these important questions.

Neither the Admiral of his Majesty's squadron, nor the Commander in Chief of his troops, had any orders concerning the manner of treating the conquered places; and they had neither sufficient funds or authority to keep Pondichery as a royal conquest, though they were ever so well disposed to do it.

We

We shall shew, that we could not spare Pondichery, without exposing ourselves to the greatest danger of losing the fruits of our success, without subjecting ourselves to heavy expences, and even without risking our own settlements.

We have done no more than what sound reason dictated to us to do; viz. to destroy Pondichery and abandon the other conquest, that our future operations might not be embarrassed by such a charge; nor the forces, which we are in a condition to keep on foot to preserve our own settlements, be divided into a great number of small garrisons, each of which would then become an easy conquest. When we had drawn off for the expedition 2500 effective troops, from those which we had then on the coasts (the greatest number that could be spared for that purpose) there would scarce have remained 700 men to garrison our own settlements and our conquests, as well as to keep watch on 2000 prisoners; and double that number would have scarce sufficed to garrison Pondichery alone. We should, therefore, have exposed ourselves to the almost certain risk of losing that place, if the French squadron should appear on the coast, whilst our squadron and our army were absent. Moreover, we should expose ourselves not only to lose our conquests, but likewise Madras,

and all our own settlements on the coast of **Co-**
romandel. Our own interest, therefore, abso-
lutely required, that we should destroy **Pondi-**
chery, and all the other **Forts** that were weak
or useless.

The instructions of **Monfieur d'Aché** and
General Lally contain positive orders to raze
the public buildings of all the maritime pla-
ces they might take; and we can alledge
instances of the rigour with which **Monfieur**
de Lally intended to execute these orders.

The French were permitted to remain
close upon three months at **Pondichery**, and
allowed time to carry off all their effects ex-
cept those in trade. The English of **Fort**
St. David were allowed but three days, and
could carry away but very little or rather no-
thing. This we can easily prove; as, like-
wise, that our treatment of private persons
has been as humane, as that, which **Mon-**
fieur de Lally had orders to show us, was
the reverse. There needs no other proof of
the punctuality with which he intended to
execute these orders, then his behaviour at
Fort St. David and **Madras**. His manner
of thinking is evident by the letter we in-
tercepted of his to **Monfieur de Leyrit**,
when he was about to raise the siege of our
Capital. It is dated the 14th of February

1759. He therein says, that he had given the most positive orders for the destruction of the Black Town of Madras. All these things, which he has done, fully justify our doing the same in our turn; and are sufficient to acquit us from that inhumanity, with which Monsieur de Leyrit charges us, and which is the sole object of this recapitulation.

Done in the Council of Fort St. George
the 13th of April, 1761.

Letter written from Paris by the Council of Pondichery to the Comptroller General.

MY LORD,

Monsieur de Leyrit's bad state of health prevents his waiting on you with the memorial, which you required of us; the abundance of the matter, the order of the facts, the multiplicity of the proofs, have not left us at liberty to abridge them as much as we could wish. Nevertheless, it is but a miniature of the picture, which we have still to draw; but we hope that this miniature will be sufficient to leave you no room to doubt, on which side truth and justice are to be found.

You will therein see, My Lord, to what a degree the Council and wretched settlement

of the Indies have been oppressed, from first to last, under the authority of a despotick master, ever a stranger to all the laws of prudence, honour, and even humanity.

You will therein observe the prudent behaviour, and perfect submission, of a Council, who, in the midst of the insults, the gibets, and the wheels, with which they were incessantly threatened, supported, to the last, the character of true patriots, and voluntarily sacrificed the last farthing of their fortunes for the common safety, though convinced by sad experience of the bad use that would be made of them.

You will therein see, that, from the moment of Count Lally's arrival, the Council was entirely stript of its authority; that Monsieur de Lally, alone, ordered and disposed of every thing; and that nothing was left to the Council but to obey, even in those things which it disapproved most. That Monsieur de Lally is alone accountable for the entire stewardship and administration of both the interior and exterior concerns of the Company, since nothing was settled, employed, or expended, without his orders.

That

That he is accountable for the rents of all the Company's lands, and the revenues of all its territories; that, in the month of October 1758 (five months after his arrival) he broke and annulled the stewardship of the Council, in order to let the Company's lands to two private persons, whom he had forbid in writing to pay a farthing to either the Council or the Governor, though at this time he affected to charge us with the victualing of Pondichery; that he is equally accountable for the effects in the magazines, since he likewise forbid the person entrusted with the care of them to deliver any for the future to the Governor's orders, though it had been heretofore customary with the Governor to issue such orders.

That he is accountable for the contributions and revenues of the kingdom of Thiagar, the kingdom of Arcot, and the provinces which depend on it, since he acted as steward in them in the name of a Black Lord, and received the money arising from these contributions and revenues.

That he is accountable for the excessive taxes which he imposed on both the Blacks and the Europeans, the produce of which was paid into his hands.

That

That he is accountable to his own Farmers for what they paid for their leases, since, after draining them of every penny, he, by his own authority, turned them out of their farms, the very moment they were going to send to Pondichery the grain destined by them to victual that place; putting into their place a Black, whom he had a little before by bribery saved from the Gallows, and by whom he caused to be sold the provisions on which our safety depended.

That he is accountable for the loss of Pondichery, since it surrendered merely for want of provisions, and he alone had in his power the means of supplying it with them; namely, money to purchase them; the fruits of the Company's lands; the produce of the Company's harvests, and troops to protect that produce.

That he is, likewise, accountable for not having employed the means he had of victualing the place, even after the English had begun to blockade it; and thereby repairing the faults he had before committed in not supplying it at a properer season.

That he is, moreover, inadmissible in the accusations, which, it is said, he has dared to form; and ought to be considered as a man
dead

dead in law, so far as not to be permitted to act in justice any other part than that of a criminal, since he has gone so far as to suborn false witnesses against those, by whose complaints and depositions against himself he had been alarmed.

You will not find in our Memorial, my Lord, an account of all the sums which he remitted to Europe, through the hands of the Danes, the Dutch, and even the English themselves. This matter shall be cleared up hereafter. We have resolved not to mention any facts in this place, but such as are well proved.

Neither have we made any mention of what relates to his military conduct. It would draw us into too long a detail ; and we are, besides, of opinion, that the superior Officers, who have been, as well as the soldiers, the witnesses and victims of Monsieur de Lally's conduct and incapacity, have not failed to give an account of it. However, we reserve to ourselves to furnish a simple journal of his military operations, leaving it to men of his own profession to judge of them.

We have only the honour of assuring you, Sir, that there are nine capital articles, which
prove

prove something more than mere want of capacity. They are as follows.

ARTICLE I.

The campaign of Tanjore, coloured with the motive of all others the least suitable to the interest and dignity of the nation, but which favoured the views of Monsieur de Lally, as he might sink with impunity the greatest part of the money he expected to derive from it; and, in fine, the shameful flight from before Tanjore, equally fatal to the honour and interest of the nation.

ARTICLE II.

His obstinate refusal to take the necessary steps and precautions to insure success to the siege of Madras, in spite of all the advice and all the representations of those, who had a right to interfere on the occasion; and his conduct during the siege.

ARTICLE III.

The separation of his forces, by which he revived the hopes of the English, enabled them to keep the field in spite of us, and even come and attack us during the siege of Vandiwash, with a kind of equality, which, joined to the misconduct of Monsieur de Lally, was sufficient to secure them the victory.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IV.

His abandoning almost the whole country after this battle, by dispersing his troops; as if he had nothing to do but put them into quarters.

ARTICLE V.

His affecting to leave all the frontier places, without a sufficient number of troops or quantity of provisions and ammunition; as if he wanted to make as speedy an end as possible of the tragedy.

ARTICLE VI.

His affected negligence in causing provisions to be brought into Pondichery, when pressed to it in the most earnest manner, though he had the means of doing it in his hands; and made a shew of using them.

ARTICLE VII.

His refusing to make a proper use of the army of the Mysoresans; his imprudence in keeping them inactive on the glacis, to help to consume the rest of our provisions; his endeavours to disgust them; and his proposal to fall upon their camp with his troops.

ARTICLE VIII.

His refusal to use any of the many methods and expedients proposed to him for succouring the place.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IX.

The project formed by him to surrender the place at discretion to the enemy, published under his hand a long time before any thoughts were entertained of capitulating; and put in execution by him alone, without the participation of the Council.

It is not, my Lord, the desire of revenging the injuries offered to ourselves in particular, and our personal ruin, which animates us in the drawing up of the picture, we take the liberty to lay before you; it is the force of truth; it is the pure dictates of our consciences; it is the general cry; it is the complaints of so many unhappy families, which call upon you, by our voice, for justice on Monsieur de Lally; who gluts himself with impunity on their tears and their blood, and triumphs in their ruin, in the face of the whole kingdom, which cries out for vengeance against him. .

We are, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your very humble, &c.

Petition

Petition presented to his Majesty by the Governor and superior Council of Pondichery, the 3d of August 1762. .

T O T H E K I N G.

S I R E,

TH E Governor and superior Council of Pondichery throw themselves at your Majesty's feet, to give you an account of the misfortunes with which that flourishing settlement has been overwhelmed, and from which all their zeal for your glory and the interest of the state could not rescue it.

Injured to the last degree, in their honour and in their ~~reputation~~, by the imputation of the blackest crimes, with which Monsieur de Lally, since his arrival, has never ceased to load them, they presume to apply to your Majesty for justice ; and beseech your Majesty to let them know the tribunal you intend to appoint to render it to them.

Signed, DUVAL DE LEYRIT, MORACIN, COURTIN, LE NOIR, DENIS, NICOLAS, DUPLAN, DE LA SELLE, AND LAGRENE'E.

AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE
CONDEMNATION AND EXECUTION
OF COUNT LALLY.

EVER since the proper Officer began to report the affairs of Pondichery to the tribunal appointed to examine into and determine them, it every week bestowed three, and often four, evenings on that business, from Three till between Nine and Ten. At length, on Saturday the 3d of May 1766, the report ended, and the Attorney General having delivered his thundering conclusions against Count Lally, he was, in consequence thereof, removed, in the night between Sunday the 4th and Monday the 5th, from the Bastile to the prison called the Conciergerie, which communicates by different flights of stairs with different halls of the Great Court of Parliament. Though it was but One in the morning when he reached the Conciergerie, yet, as he was not prepared for the removal, he refused to go to bed. About Seven the same morning, he was sent for to the Great Chamber, which was invested on all sides by the Parliament Guards ; and, on his appearing before his Judges, was ordered to give up his red ribband and his cross, which he thereupon caused, with an air of great unconcern, to be taken from off his coat. He was then placed upon the stool in order to be interrogated. He no sooner found himself
in

in this situation, than joining his hands, and lifting his eyes up to heaven, he cried out; Is this then the reward of forty years service! This interrogatory lasted six hours, during which, being greatly fatigued, he was ordered a glass of wine and water. It began again at Three in the evening. The Marquis de Buffly and the Count d'Aché were successively confronted with him. They remained but a short time in the Great Chamber; and, on leaving it, were conducted back by the Tipstaffs. The Court did not break up till Nine the same evening, when Count Lally was re-conducted to the Bastile, by the Parliament Guards and several companies of the Watch. The next day, the Judges proceeded, by Six o'clock in the morning, to give their opinions, the doors still continuing shut; yet had not done till Four in the evening, when they pronounced an arret, which, though very long, contained nothing but a bare recital of the proceedings against him, and several persons accused, likewise, of abuses and crimes in the East Indies, with their acquittal or condemnation, without specifying the facts, on which such acquittal or condemnation was grounded. The persons mentioned with him, were as follows: Armand Anthony Francis Fretard de Gadeville, heretofore Quarter Master of the King's army in the Indies; James Hugo de Chaponnay, heretofore Captain in the regiment of Lally;

James Pouly, heretofore Provost of the King's army in the Indies ; Luke Allen, heretofore Major of the King's army in the Indies ; William Meagher, Physician, heretofore Surgeon of the army of the said Lally in the Indies ; John Ferdinand Rochette, heretofore Secretary of the said Lally ; Charles Fossier, heretofore barber and valet de chambre of the said Lally ; John Deschaux, cook ; Joseph Francis de Ferre, Lieutenant in the regiment of the Indies ; all, prisoners in the Concergerie of the Palace ; as, also, against Anne Anthony d'Aché, Lieutenant General of the King's naval armies, Commander of the royal and military Order of St Lewis ; James George, Vicomte de Fumel ; Augustin Anthony Detard de Chamboy ; and Charles Francis de Bazin ; all prisoners at large ; and, moreover, against the Abbé Noronha ; Friar Freinch ; James Philip Hurpy ; Joseph Lewis Dennis Jacquelet ; a certain Black called Ramalinga ; and two other persons, Lieutenants in the regiment of Lorrain ; accused, likewise : but absent and contumacious. The conclusion of this arret, the only part of it which related to the acquittal or condemnation of the accused, is as follows :

“ The Court, the Great Chamber assembled, orders that the said Joseph Francis de Ferre shall apply to the King for Letters of Grace and Re-

Remission ; and, without paying any regard to the petitions and applications of the said Thomas Anthony de Lally, which petitions and applications are hereby rejected, or to the exceptions made by him against the witnesses, which exceptions are hereby declared impertinent and inadmissible, declares the said Lally, attainted and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the King, his dominions, and the Company of the Indies ; of abuses of authority ; of vexations and exactions of and against the subjects of his Majesty, and others, foreigners, inhabitants of Pondichery ; for reparation of which and other crimes resulting from the Trial, it deprives him of all his titles, honours, and dignities ; condemns him to have his head severed from his body, on a scaffold to be erected, for that purpose, in the place de Greve ; declares his goods acquired and confiscated to the King's use, after deducting from them the sum of 10,000 livres, to be laid out in buying bread for the poor of the Conciergerie, and the sum of 300,000 livres to be distributed to the poor inhabitants of Pondichery, in such portions as the King shall think proper ; adjourns, till after the execution of the said Lally, the decision of the accusations brought against Armand Anthony Francis Fretard de Gadenville, James Hugo de Chaponay, and James Pouly ; in regard to the accusation brought against the said Luke Allen, orders the parties out of court ; acquits the said Anne Anthony

d'Aché of the accusation brought against him ; orders that all the expressions injurious to the said d'Aché, that occur in the memorials of the said Lally, shall be erased and blotted out as injurious and slanderous ; a verbal process made thereof ; and a copy of such verbal process delivered to the said d'Aché ; the whole at the expence of the said Lally, who is likewise hereby condemned to pay the costs of the said d'Aché ; likewise, discharges John George Vicomte de Fumel, Augustin Anthony Detard de Chamboy, Charles Francis de Bazin, John Ferdinand Rochette, William Meagher, James Deschaux, and Charles Fossier, of the accusations brought against them ; orders the said Rochette, Meagher, Deschaux, and Fossier to be set at liberty ; and enjoins, on pain of corporal punishment, all clerks and goalers to strike their names and accusations out of their registers ; postpones the determination of the accusations brought against the Abbé Noronha, Friar Freinch, Ramalinga, and two persons formerly Lieutenants in the regiment of Lorrain, whose contumacy has been sufficiently proved ; and orders further informations to be taken against them during the space of twelve months, to be then communicated to, and finally pronounced upon by, the Court ; orders that all the memorials, &c. of the said Lally, as containing falsehoods and calumnies, shall be and remain suppressed ; orders, besides,

sides, the present sentence to be printed, published, and stuck up wherever need shall be, and copies of it to be sent to the Colonies.

As soon as this sentence was pronounced, it was sent to the Vice Chancellor to be by him communicated to his Majesty,

The Thursday evening following, at Eleven o'clock, Count Lally was removed from the Bastille to the Conciergerie of the Palace; and the next day at noon, his sentence was read to him, and soon after delivered by the Parliament's Printer to the public criers. At half an hour past Four of the evening of the same day, the Count, accompanied by the parish priest of the parish of St. Lewis, who incessantly exhorted him, and escorted by two hangmen, ascended a cart, which was followed by the ordinary waggon of the Executioner of High Justice. The public were very much surprised to see the Count gagged; and, at first, imagined it was done with a view of hindering him to speak; but they were afterwards given to understand, that, after his sentence had been read to him, he had endeavoured to swallow his tongue, and had even given himself a wound in the breast with a pair of compasses he had concealed in his night-gown; and that his execution, which was to have been performed by torch-light, had been hastened on account of this

this wound, and the fury he was in. He was conducted from the Court to the Greve in less than half an hour; and, precisely at Five, ascended the scaffold, where, after taking the gag out of his mouth, he was blindfolded. The hangmen then cut off his head at two blows, threw it with the body into a common hackney coach, and buried both in the church-yard nearest to the place of execution. He was aged 67.

In about ten days after, the Attorney General of the Treasury Court of the Parliament represented to that Court, that the effects found in Count Lally's apartments were so inconsiderable, that, as he had no settled residence in the kingdom, it might be justly suspected great part of his moveable estate had been deposited in other hands; and, without the interposition of the Court, might continue secreted, to the great loss, not only of the King to whom Count Lally's effects were confiscated, but likewise of his creditors, and of the poor to whom part of them had been adjudged. Upon this, the said Court immediately issued a decree, injoining all persons having any knowledge of the Count's moveable estate, or even papers, to declare to the Court what they knew of them, by the 20th of June, on pain of being considered as receivers and detainers of stolen goods.

This

This decree made such an impression, that, before the expiration of the term therein limited, no less than 1.400,000 livres worth of his effects were returned into Court, great part of which had been left with a gentleman in such a manner, as to furnish no more than a mere surmise that they belonged to Count Lally. But, on breaking open an exterior cover, this surmise appeared to be but too justly grounded, to the no small joy, it may be presumed, of his enemies, as he had defied them to produce the shadow of any fortune he had except what he had given the Minister a minute of; offering, withal, in case they did, to acknowledge himself guilty of all the charges brought against him.

F I N I S.

